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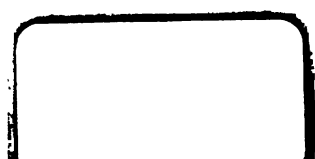
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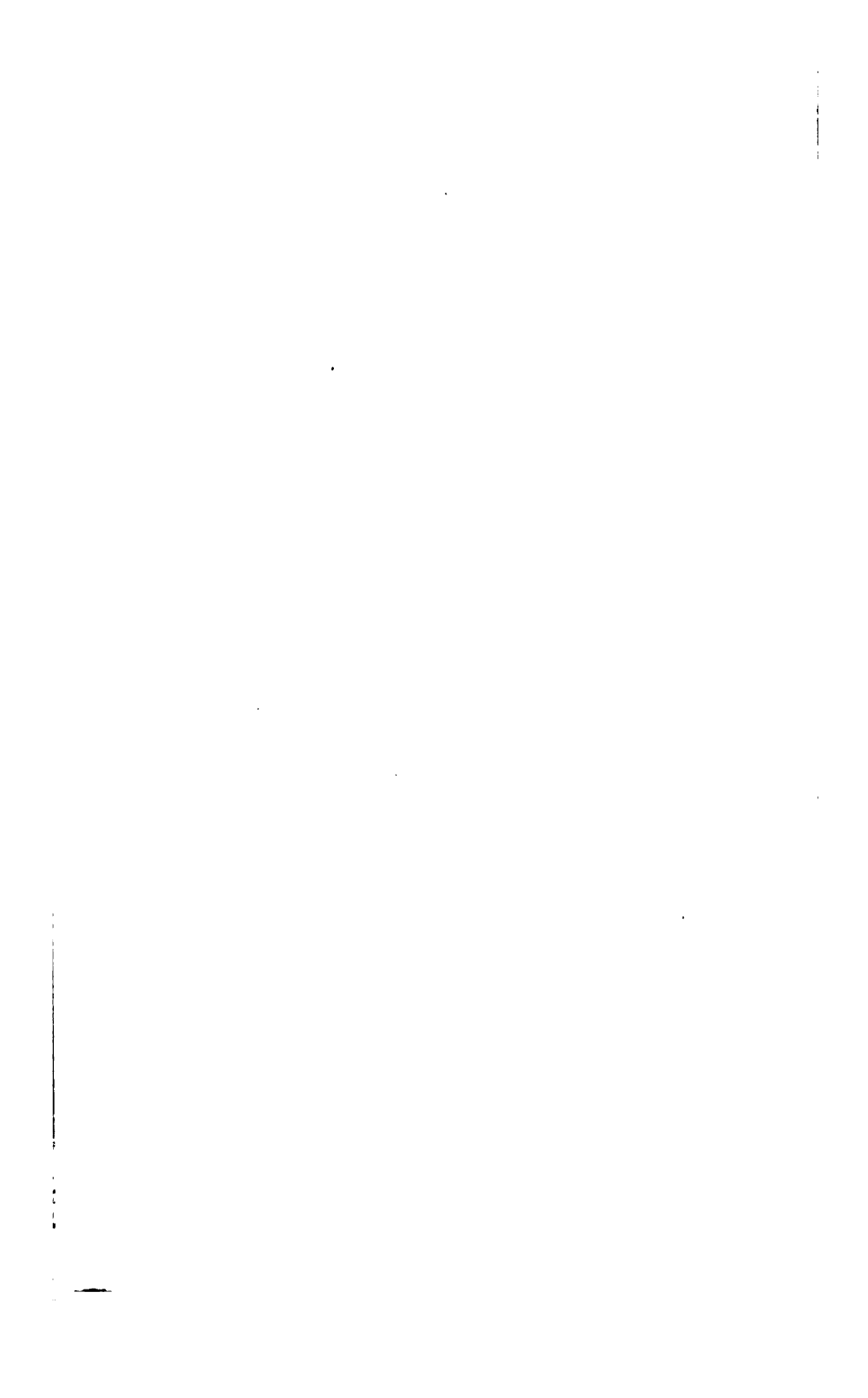
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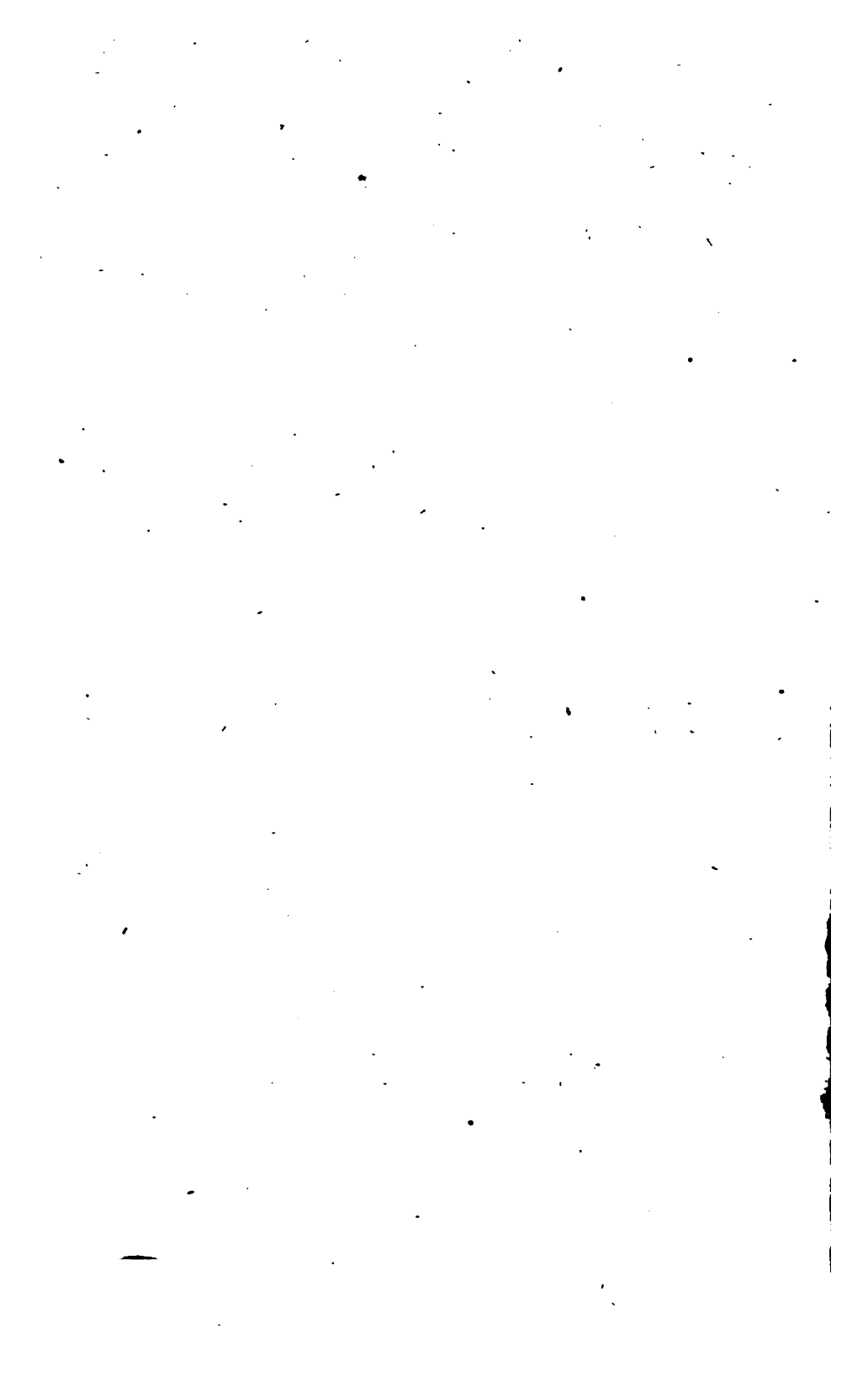






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**ELEMENTS**  
**OF**  
**GENERAL HISTORY.**

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**MODERN HISTORY.**

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**ELEMENTS**  
**OF GENERAL HISTORY**  
**ANCIENT AND MODERN.**

**BY THE ABBE MILLOT.**

**WITH THE CONTINUATION FROM MDCCLX TO THE  
YEAR MDCCCXV, BY M. PROFESSOR MILLON  
OF PARIS.**

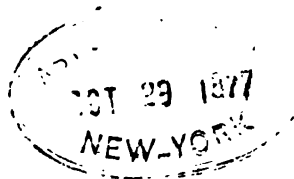
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**ELEMENTS**  
**OF**  
**GENERAL HISTORY.**

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**MODERN HISTORY.**

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# ELEMENTS

OF

## GENERAL HISTORY.

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MODERN HISTORY CONTINUED.

TWELFTH EPOCH.

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### CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. AFFAIRS  
OF VENICE, HOLLAND, AND SPAIN.

WHILE France was reaping the fruits of an excellent administration, and saw her strength revive with her happiness, new conspiracies were incessantly forming against the king. His mistress, d'Entragues, who exposed him to the queen's peevish humour, was ungrateful enough to betray him. She endeavoured to put in force the promise of marriage which she had received, notwithstanding the zeal of the minister, and the court of Spain fanned

Various  
conspiracies  
against  
Henry IV.

the fire of the cabals. Old d'Entragues, his daughter, and the count d'Auvergne, entered into a correspondence with that court. The plot was discovered, and the criminals were arrested and condemned, but pardoned by Henry. He was afterwards obliged to take arms against the duke de Bouillon, who stirred up the Calvinists, and deprived him of Sedan, but immediately restored it. We shall see this king, notwithstanding his extraordinary beneficence and attention to every thing that could gain the hearts of his subjects, continually surrounded with traitors and assassins, till at last he fell under the stroke of fanaticism.

He  
recalls  
the Jesuits.

Meantime, Henry recalled the Jesuits, out of complaisance to the pope, against the advice of Sulli, and in opposition to the strong remonstrances made to him by Achilles de Harlai, first president of the parliament. Father Cotton, one of the most able politicians in their order, enjoyed a considerable share of his confidence, and, by opening to them access to the court, soon furnished them with means for acquiring excessive credit.

In what  
this order  
was to  
be dreaded.

It is not to be doubted, that several advantages might be reaped from the activity and talents of that body, which was devoted to study and indefatigable labours. But, if it entertained prejudices contrary to the interest of the nation ; if it was the instrument of the court of Rome ; became the arbiter of opinions and consciences ; had an influence in all affairs, great and small ; and formed a powerful party in the state which it was dangerous to resist ; was it not to be apprehended, that this establishment would open a way to trou-

bles and abuses? This was dreaded by Sulli and the parliament; but Cotton had the art of pleasing and persuading the monarch. Certainly, the circumstances were not such as could produce prejudices favourable to the order.

Every day gave birth to some poisonous fruit, either from religious dissensions, the pretensions of the clergy, or the ancient papal despotism. The Jesuits and Dominicans carried on a kind of war on the subject of their systems upon Grace, which was almost as violent as that between the Catholics and Protestants. The Calvinists in France established in their synods, as an article of faith, that *the pope is properly Antichrist, the beast clothed in scarlet, which the Lord shall discomfit, as he hath promised*. The archbishops of Aix and Bourdeaux excommunicated the parliaments who should dare to try clerks on criminal accusations. The Catholics in England, as we shall relate elsewhere, formed the horrid *Gunpowder Plot*, to destroy, at a single blow, the king, the royal family, and the whole parliament. Next year, 1606, broke out the famous quarrel between the court of Rome and the Venetians, the consequences of which would perhaps have been fatal, had it not been for the mediation of the king of France.

Theologians,  
bishops,  
and popes,  
engaged  
in  
disputes.

Of all the Catholic states, that of Venice was least a slave to prejudices repugnant to the civil laws, and derogatory from the power of sovereigns. This republic followed, with deliberate but firm steps, a system of liberty which the popes looked upon as a system of

Venice  
embroidered  
with  
Paul V.

rebellion. An Augustine monk, guilty of the most enormous crimes, had been put to death. Two ecclesiastics were in prison for the like offences, and their trial would infallibly be followed by their execution. Besides, the senate had forbidden the building any more churches and convents without permission, as they were already too numerous; and prohibited, in future, the alienation of lands to the clergy and monks, who were become a burden to the state by their riches and their exemption from imposts. All these were things that necessarily drew down the thunders of Rome.

1606.  
The  
republic  
put under an  
interdict.  
Henry  
IV.  
mediator.

Clement VIII., who died in 1605, had prudently dissembled. Paul V., Borghese, more haughty and enterprising, excommunicated the doge and the senate, and put the whole republic under an interdict. The Theatins, the Capuchins, and the Jesuits, were the only persons who submitted to the bull; and the last were sentenced to perpetual banishment, as being of a more intriguing spirit than the others. Paul then attempting to support his anathemas by force of arms, and the Venetians preparing to defend their rights and liberties, Henry offered himself as mediator, and in that quality put an end to the quarrel, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish court, whose credit had long been prevalent at Rome. The senate put the two criminal priests into the hands of the pope, and suspended the execution of its laws without revoking them; but refused to restore the Jesuits. We may judge by this accommodation, that if the Venetians then entertained the same principles as they do at present, they

did not find it so easy to put them in practice. From how many trammels has the progress of reason freed governments !

The war with Holland still continued. Henry protected those brave republicans, who for so many years resisted the Spanish power, and had the glory of procuring an acknowledgment of their independence, which, notwithstanding their invincible courage, they had not yet been able to obtain. Let us collect the facts, the knowledge of which here becomes necessary.

Affairs  
of  
Holland.

In 1598, Philip II. ceded the Low Countries, Franche Comté, and the territory of Charolois, to the Infanta Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, archduke of Austria, formerly cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, on condition that, in default of heirs, or in case the heirs should renounce the Catholic religion, these provinces should revert to Spain. Though the Dutch had been less fond of liberty, yet the dread of again falling under the Spanish yoke was sufficient to make them redouble their efforts. Their leader, Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, maintained the glory of his family. Sieges, battles and conquests, were multiplied as before.

Prince  
Maurice  
maintains  
the  
war against  
Spain.

No siege can be found in modern history comparable to that of Ostend, for its length, or the blood that was split. This place, which held out three years and three months, cost the Spaniards eighty thousand men, and the Hollanders sixty thousand. Ambrose Spinola, a Genoese, who gloriously concluded this siege in 1604, is a great example of the strength of genius. While his brother Frederic was distinguishing himself in the armies, Ambrose was

Famous  
siege  
of Ostend.

The  
Spinolas.

engaged in trade, but all at once came to join him; when the former being killed, he supplied his place, showing himself an able captain, though he had no masters except books. He was created commander in chief in Flanders by Philip III. Such is the force of genius, it can, without assistance, rapidly make its way to glory, to which mere assiduity leads only by slow degrees.

Wonderful  
progress  
of  
the Dutch.

In the heat of this obstinate war, the Dutch, by dint of admirable economy, frugality, activity, courage, and industry, had put themselves into a condition not only to improve their country, but to execute the greatest enterprises abroad. Their fleets had already taken the Moluccas in the East Indies from the Portuguese, or rather from Spain, of which Portugal was still a province. 'Holland,' says Voltaire very justly, 'deserves the more attention, as it is a state of a kind entirely new, which has become powerful almost without possessing any land, rich without having of its own growth a sufficiency to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its industry in the extremity of Asia.' Let us add, a state which was nothing before it was free.

1609.  
Philip III.  
acknow-  
ledges their  
independ-  
ence.

At length, by the good offices of the king of France, and the address of his ambassador, the president Jeanin, the Dutch liberty was established on a firm footing, by a truce of twelve years, concluded at the Hague; by which Philip III. acknowledged the United Provinces as free and independent states, and obliged himself to allow them a free trade in the Indies and America. Of the seventeen



provinces comprehended in the Netherlands, the house of Austria has lost seven ; the poorest indeed, but which, by their union, form the greatest and richest republic in the world.

Can it be believed that Spain, after so many losses, which, notwithstanding the empire of the New World had drained it of men and money, should yet give itself a deep and incurable wound, from the same persecuting spirit, by which it had lost a great part of its subjects? By an insensate edict, all the Moriscoes were ordered to leave the monarchy in thirty days. Such were the fruits produced by the zeal of the inquisitors. It was imputed as a crime to the duke of Ossuna, that he had the courage singly to oppose this measure. They had likewise made it one in the king, that he shed some tears at an *auto-da-fé*. It is said that the grand inquisitor condemned him, as an expiation for the scandal he had given, to cause himself to be let blood, which the executioner threw into the fire. Such an atrocious deed appears incredible, even amidst the horrors which were at that time too certainly committed by the inquisition.

The  
Moriscoes  
banished  
from Spain.

Whatever be in this, historians estimate the loss sustained by Spain, in consequence of this edict, at a million of people ; and they were of that class, who, by their labour and industry, made themselves most useful. Almost all of them fled into Asia and Africa.

In the reign of Louis XIII. they made an offer of clearing the waste lands in Gascony, but it was rejected ; notwithstanding which, some of them settled in France, where their posterity has been hardly treated. These unhappy people, whom the Christians persecuted

Might have  
been  
converted  
instead of  
lost.

as Mahometans, passed among the Mahometans for Christians; and thus fell victims to the hatred which subsisted between the two religions; an evident proof, that, had the inquisitors been humane and reasonable, such of them as were still attached to their ancient practices might have been made true Christians by instruction and gentleness. According to Perefixe, above sixty thousand Huguenots were converted by the gentle usage they met with from Henry IV.; but they would have been burnt, or at least banished, by the inquisition.

Project  
of a  
Christian  
republic  
by  
Henry IV.

This monarch's great designs were upon the point of being disclosed. The project of a *Christian republic*, which is to be found in Sully's Memoirs, has been commonly ranked among the political reveries. It was proposed to divide Europe into fifteen settled powers, none of which should be suffered to make any new acquisition, and should altogether form an association for maintaining a mutual balance, and preserving peace. Henry conceived, and certainly carefully meditated on this sublime idea; but what appearance is there that he thought it capable of being realized? His actual design was, to set bounds to the ambition and power of the house of Austria, both in Germany and Italy.

Forms  
a League  
against the  
house  
of  
Austria.

He had already taken all his measures, when the emperor Rodolphus II. furnished him with a reason for commencing the war, by sequestrating the duchies of Juliers, Cleves, and Bergue, after the death of the last duke. Henry entered into a league with the elector of Brandenburg and the count Palatine of Neu-

burg, who both pretended to the succession. The Protestants of Germany, always restless and suspicious, likewise formed a league for the maintenance of their liberties; of which he was the prime mover, and which he did not neglect to join. The pope, the Venetians, the duke of Savoy, the Swiss and other states, likewise entered into those views. Never was any enterprise better concerted.

He was to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand excellent troops. The army, provisions, and every other necessary were in readiness. Money could not fail him, Sulli having laid up forty millions in the treasury, which were destined for this war. How could an emperor, immersed in the study of astronomy and the search of the philosopher's stone, and a king of Spain, ruled by his favourites and the inquisitors, both of them without strength and foresight, have borne up against the storm that threatened them?

Henry, though impatient to join the army, and his mind harassed with sinister forebodings, was stopped against his will, upon account of the queen's coronation; a ceremony which she insisted upon with too much eagerness. Passing along a street, his coach was entangled; and, his footmen quitting it, Ravillac, a desperate fanatic, who had long formed a design to murder him, taking advantage of the opportunity, stabbed him, in the midst of seven courtiers, who were in the coach. Thus died, at the age of fifty-seven, a prince worthy of immortality; against whom above fifty conspiracies had been formed, whose memory is to this day adored by every good Frenchman,

His  
means of  
success.

1610.  
He is  
assassinated  
by  
Ravillac.

and whose reign ought to serve as a model to princes who love their subjects. Let us bury in oblivion a few spots which stain his private life, weaknesses which unhappily are too common to heroic minds, and examine his principles of government, which form the best lesson for sovereigns, for statesmen, and for all who desire to be acquainted with the sources of public prosperity.

## CHAPTER V.

PICTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HENRY IV. AND  
THE ADMINISTRATION OF SULLI.

I SHALL trace only a general sketch, for my plan is inconsistent with long details. These are to be found in the Memoirs of Sulli; a work which ought to be studied with care by all who would acquire a knowledge of the true principles of politics.

Let us represent to ourselves the dreadful state of the monarchy in the beginning of this reign. Civil wars, so much the more furious, as superstition and fanaticism fanned the fire of rebellion, and received from it an activity which made them still more terrible; the feelings of justice, humanity, patriotism, and duty, stifled by the rage of cabals, and the vices and interests of the factious; the regal authority so far debased, as to make no impression upon hearts naturally friends to royalty; the vitals of the state almost entirely corrupted; disorder and robbery universally prevalent; the laws without vigour; the clergy refractory; the nobles breaking through all rule and restraint; and the force of arms annihilating the rights

1568.  
Dreadful  
state  
of France.

and happiness of society. To remedy so many mischiefs, a king was necessary, who, to admirable qualifications, joined a passion for public good, a steady application to business, sagacity which nothing could escape, a courage which nothing could shake ; and such was Henry IV., who so well deserved the surname of Great.

Adored  
by  
his troops.

As a general, he possessed in a superior degree the art of gaining the military men. Accustomed to the profession of arms from his most early youth, and educated in camps, he not only set an example of labour, sobriety, and courage, but charmed the soldiers by his behaviour and discourse, which breathed all the vivacity of his genius, and the beneficence of his heart. From his mouth, the least expression of praise acquired inestimable value.

The spirit  
of  
independen:  
ce was  
universal.

But the love of independence and the thirst of ambition formed an almost insuperable obstacle to the restoration of order. The majority of the great men attempted to make themselves absolute in the provinces. Nothing was thought of but dismembering the government, appropriating principalities, or even erecting commonwealths. The republican spirit, roused by Calvinism and the progress of Holland, fermented briskly in the kingdom. It is not surprising, therefore, that Henry, when he entered into treaty with the principal lords of the League, granted them terms so advantageous.

What  
it cost to  
gain  
the factions.

Peace was absolutely necessary to him, and two-and-thirty millions were sacrificed for that purpose. Villars Brancas, who had defended Rouen with the most heroic courage, exacted, for his single share, a pension of sixty thousand livres, with governments and other favours.

To keep the factious nobles within bounds, to prevent or repress their frequent conspiracies, to form a regular plan of administration, and pursue it with success, in the midst of so many cabals and dangers, is a work which cannot claim too much admiration.

Henry stood in need of a minister worthy to share with him the cares of government. Without assistance, he would have sunk under the burden ; and, if he had not made the most judicious choice, he would have been bewildered in that labyrinth : perhaps, he might even have done harm, while he was endeavouring to do good. Rosni, or the celebrated duke of Sully, was formed by nature for that glorious, but slippery, station. He possessed the friendship of his master, and deserved it by his virtues, as well as his services. A hero in the field, he displayed still greater abilities in the cabinet. Far from despising that kind of knowledge which is acquired by reading, a fault almost universal among the nobility of his time, he applied himself early to instructive studies. He read not for the sake of amusement, but information ; making extracts, arranging his ideas, reflecting, and observing. Nor had the contemplation of what was passing in the world contributed less than books to extend the sphere of his genius. In a word, never did a minister, possessed of more extensive capacity or greater zeal for the public good, take upon him the political administration. Accordingly, he was mortally hated by those who had turned to their own advantage the former disorders, the reformation of which he had the courage to attempt.

Ruin  
of  
the finances.

The finances, in particular, were in a state so deplorably ruinous, that the king, far from being able to supply the public exigencies, was even in want of necessities for his person. During the war with Spain, in 1596, he held at Rouen an assembly of the *notables*, in order to take their advice and procure aids, where he spoke like the father of his people. *I have not called you*, said he, among other things, *as my predecessors did, to oblige you blindly to approve my will ; I have caused you to be assembled, in order to receive your advice, to listen to it, to follow it, in a word, to make you my guardians. This is seldom done by kings, grey-beards, and victors, like me ; but the love which I bear to my subjects, and the extreme desire that I have to preserve my kingdom, make me think every thing easy and honourable.*

System  
there  
established.

This assembly ill answered his confidence. It proposed to establish a council of *reason*, whose members should be of its own nomination, to manage one-half of the revenue, for the purpose of paying pensions and discharging debts, without being subject to have the accounts inspected. Such a system was irreconcilable with the royal authority. Yet Sulli caused it to be accepted, foreseeing that it would soon fall of itself, and that the necessity of effectual remedies would be more clearly perceived. In fact, these ignorant administrators had scarce exercised their office three months, when, finding it impossible to succeed, they petitioned for a suppression of the new council. Experience of ill is often necessary to lead men to good.



After this, the whole management of the revenue was put into the hands of Sulli. Sulli superintendent. The last superintendant, Francis d'O, a man equally rapacious and prodigal, had filled up the measure of the abuses produced by the dissipation and vices of Henry III. The state was indebted three hundred and thirty millions of livres, which at present would make eight hundred and two \* of the current money of France. One hundred and fifty millions were levied on the people, and of that only about thirty came into the treasury. Thus the king, loaded with debts, received only a fifth part of what was exacted from the nation, which was overwhelmed with misery. The great increase of taxation, instead of enriching the state, had long been appropriated to raising the fortunes of a few men, who preyed upon the nation. We have seen that the perpetual taille was established under Charles VII., in whose reign it did not exceed eighteen hundred thousand livres. So early as the reign of Francis I., it amounted to fifteen millions seven hundred thousand livres. † The kingdom had, after that time, experienced every kind of misfortune, calculated to ruin the prince and increase the oppression of the people.

Sulli resolved to examine every thing in person, before he attempted the bringing of this chaos into order. His zeal was neither cooled by the immense labour it required, nor the in- He examines and discovers all the abuses.

\* About 33,041,666l. English.

† The foreign wars, kindled by a fatal ambition, had necessarily produced this augmentation of the imposts, and made the princes ruin their subjects and dominions. According to Philip de Comines, Charles VIII. could not continue his march in Italy without borrowing from the Genoese at two-and-forty per cent.

finite number of obstacles he had to encounter. He saw that the financiers, by their secret practices, robbed the king with impunity, while they affected to serve him ; that the ladies and grandees of the court, sharing the fruits of their extortions, interested themselves keenly in their defence ; that odious taxes had been imposed, only to fill the coffers of those insatiable men ; that the people were more oppressed, as their money was lost among a multiplicity of hands, which prevented it from reaching the treasury. He perceived that the actual revenues were likewise dissipated in vain expenses, and that, if they were not sufficient to supply the exigencies, it was principally for want of knowing how to employ them with economy and prudence. He saw the evils, and found the remedies.

His  
operations  
and  
successes.

To make the receipt less complicated ; to recover the real rights, and cancel such as were abusive and usurped ; to subject the finances to an exact and clear order, balance the receipt and the expense, sacrifice the frivolous to the useful, and direct all the operations to the same end, the public good ; in these consisted the secret of the minister, which is clearly explained in his Memoirs. The effects were, that, in the space of fifteen years, the debts were discharged ; the revenues increased four millions, and forty millions in reserve ; at the same time that the taxes were considerably diminished.

Cabals  
against him.

The clamours and artifices of those, who before fattened on the substance of the people, may be guessed. By dint of calumnies, they sometimes well nigh effected the ruin of the minister ; but luckily these clouds were soon

dispelled from the king's mind. It seems, then, that a minister who rose every morning at four for the service of Henry IV., and who had been honoured with his friendship from his youth, could not do good to the public without danger! Such is the lot of all great statesmen.

From several passages in Sulli's Memoirs, it appears that his views of administration and economy were frequently thwarted by the king himself, some of whose inclinations that minister was far from approving. He said, that every year's ordinary expense, in buildings, play, mistresses, and dogs, amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns; a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot.\* 'I could not refrain from speaking of it to himself, at the hazard of incurring his displeasure.' In other places, he complains that the king's complaisance for those whom he indulged in any degree of familiarity with him, particularly the women, prevented the punishment of the principal extortioners.† 'They found a sure refuge in that very metal for which they were pursued . . . so that the storm fell solely upon those who could only reproach themselves with not having stolen enough to secure their thefts.'

The king himself sometimes thwarted his views.

Let us at the same time acknowledge, that there are to be found, in the systems of the minister, some principles carried to too great lengths, some errors in that age unavoidable, particularly on the subject of the coin. Being a rigid advocate for the simplicity of the old manners,

His principles carried too far in some points.

\* L. xvi.

† L. xii.

which were enemies to every appearance of luxury, perhaps he was not sufficiently sensible that novelties must necessarily be introduced into a kingdom such as France, by the changes in the state of Europe, and the progress of maritime commerce.

*Agriculture encouraged.*

But both he and Henry were sensible, that a fertile soil, well cultivated, is the principal source of happiness to the people; because from thence they not only draw all their means of subsistence, but are enabled to procure the conveniences of life. What are fictitious riches, in comparison with the blessings of nature? Where the productions of the earth are found in plenty, thither gold necessarily flows, unless its passage be stopped. If agriculture flourishes, it will soon produce the advantages of trade. They therefore made it their principal care to encourage agriculture; and the king invited the noblesse to reside on their estates, that they might there lay out with advantage the money which is almost fruitlessly spent elsewhere. He relieved the peasants, whom he was desirous of making happy; the infallible method of giving life to the labours of husbandry. In a word, without our theories and scientific methods, useful as they may be supposed, the lands, according to some able writers, then yielded five times as much as they do in our days.

*Silk manufacture.*

This extraordinary decrease seems principally owing to the silk manufacture, which Sully condemned with much severity, but Henry, notwithstanding, began to introduce, and which, under Louis XIV., was carried beyond all bounds. To that is owing the neglect of wool-

lens, and consequently that of the breed of sheep; less dung, fewer labourers, fewer raw materials of our own production; these are so many losses, which the manufactures of artificers cannot compensate.

If we would know how far Sulli's views extended for the good of the state, we may form an idea of them from a passage of his Memoirs, \* containing only an enumeration, which he laid before the king, of the causes that ruin or weaken monarchies. 'These causes,' says he, 'are, enormous subsidies; monopolies, principally of corn; neglect of commerce, traffic, husbandry, arts, and trades; a great number of offices, their expense, and too great authority of those who exercise them; fees, delays, and iniquitous procedures in the courts of justice; idleness; luxury, with all its concomitants; debauchery and corruption of morals; the confusion of ranks; alteration of the coin; unjust and imprudent wars; despotism of the sovereigns; their blind attachment to particular persons; prejudices in favour of certain orders or professions; avidity of ministers or favourites; disrespect to people of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the toleration of bad customs, and the violation of good laws; an obstinate adherence to indifferent or abusive practices: and a multiplicity of embarrassing edicts, or superfluous regulations.'

Causes  
of  
the ruin of  
states,  
according  
to  
Sulli.

He adds, 'If I wanted to establish any maxim, it should be this, *That good morals and good laws reciprocally form each other.* Un-

Connexion  
between  
good morals  
and  
good laws.

happily for us, we do not become sensible of this invaluable connexion, till we have carried corruption and all abuses to the highest pitch ; so that among mankind the greatest good originates only from the greatest evil.' This is one of those luminous truths which ought to be perpetually in our minds. If the government neglects the morals of the people, these will neglect the laws, and evils will daily increase. The Spartan virtues, which Sulli every where inculcates, are, it must be owned, in a great measure incompatible with the spirit of an extensive and opulent monarchy ; but at least it is to be wished that the most essential of them were adopted. Low or selfish passions would not then stifle the love of our country ; and why are probity and virtue in certain nations the sport of insolent wealth, but because they are neglected or disdained by men in power ?

Power of the  
prince  
inseparable  
from the  
happiness of  
the  
people.

When the people are made happy, the prince becomes powerful. He is sure of finding, in the love of his subjects, resources which cannot be furnished by the exercise of despotism ; and of this Henry was convinced. The duke of Savoy asking him what the revenue of France amounted to, he replied, *To what I please, for, having the hearts of my people, they will grant me whatever I ask.* A good father, beloved by his children, is certain of their assistance.

Project  
for  
reforming  
the courts of  
justice.

His paternal cares extended to every thing. He proposed to make a reformation in the courts of justice ; to retrench the fees, shorten the delays, and eradicate chicanery. Sulli was intrusted with this care, whose idea of referring suits between relations to the judgment of

arbitrators \* would spare families an infinite number of misfortunes. But while laws are too subtle, too confined, too numerous, sometimes contradictory, at others founded on false principles, there will always be an inexhaustible source of abuses. Louis XIV. himself left some, which are of the greatest inconvenience to suitors, and which expose just right to fraud and rapine.

Several offices were suppressed, which, by a Suppression of offices. faulty policy, had been created for sale, and which only augmented the obstructions in the finances, and vexations in civil society. But this scourge has perpetually increased since that time; so prone is policy to shut its eyes against future inconveniences for the sake of a momentary advantage.

It was not owing to Henry IV. that the Attempt to restore peace in the church. clergy did not set an example of the virtue, disinterestedness, moderation, and patriotism, necessary for the tranquillity of the kingdom; that the two rival religions did not sacrifice their mutual antipathy to the love of order and peace; that the Catholics, who enjoyed the king's favour, did not treat the Calvinists as their brethren; and that these did not sit down contented with their liberty of conscience, instead of indulging themselves in animosities and dangerous projects. Unluckily, the generality of both were governed by party spirit. Men were yet far from possessing the knowledge which shows the absurdity of that spirit, and entertaining sentiments of moderation. We must therefore expect new troubles and

new religious wars, as soon as a less equitable government rekindled those fires, which were concealed under the ashes.

**Privilege of nobility restrained.** The last king had suppressed that species of nobility, which was acquired by the single possession of fiefs; and Henry IV. likewise cancelled that which was conferred solely by the profession of arms. The privileges attached to the quality of noble, such as they existed in France, were injurious to the people, and therefore ought certainly to be granted with a sparing hand. Making them the reward of long military services, as was done by Louis XV., is the way to rouse emulation, without multiplying abuses.

**Useful works in this reign.** Neither the state of the kingdom, nor the system of economy, permitted the erection of those magnificent works, where the noblest productions of letters, sciences, and the fine arts, seem to proclaim the glory of the prince, and the happiness of the state. Yet, according to Voltaire, Henry was the real founder of the royal library. He built the gallery of the Louvre and the Pont-Neuf. To him the French are indebted for the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and the Loire. He projected other canals, and the junction of the two seas; works which are the more advantageous, as the internal trade alone would be almost sufficient to make the nation flourish. Let us agree with Sulli, who gives a just estimate of the great qualities of that prince, none of whose faults he dissembles: *Time was all he wanted to execute his glorious enterprises.*



## CHAPTER VI.

DISORDERS, TROUBLES, AND CIVIL WARS, IN THE  
BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

THE assassination of Henry IV., which is suspected, on probable grounds, though they do not amount to a proof, to have been effected by a conspiracy, overthrew the whole structure which his wise conduct had raised, dispelled all the hopes of the good subjects, and plunged the kingdom into every species of misfortune. Under the mask of mourning, and in the midst of the public sorrow, the joy of several persons discovered itself even in the Louvre. These intriguers, these rapacious and ambitious men, already built projects for raising their fortune on the ruins of their country. Louis XIII. was but nine years old, and a regency was on the point of opening a way to the most destructive cabals.

1610.  
Misfortunes  
after the  
death  
of  
Henry IV.

The Duke d'Epemon, who had been incessantly disturbing the government during the last reign, immediately gave wing to his arrogance. In full parliament, he in a manner or-

The  
duke  
d'Epemon.

Arret  
conferring  
the  
regency  
on  
the queen.

dered the nomination of Mary Medici to the regency, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword, and saying, in a threatening tone, *It is yet in the scabbard, but shall be drawn, if the queen be not this instant granted a title which is her due by the order of nature, and the rules of justice*; and that court, being no longer free to act, passed an arret conformable to his pleasure. According to ancient custom, the decision of this affair belonged to the states-general. But the juncture was critical; time pressed; it was necessary to prevent the disorders of anarchy, and the parliament doubtless saw with pleasure so important an addition made to their authority.

Concini  
and  
his wife  
all powerful.

Nothing can equal the vices and follies of the new government. The Florentine Concini, Marquis d'Ancre, afterwards marechal of France, and still more his wife Eleanora Galigai, had an absolute ascendant over the mind of the queen, whose weakness and incapacity gave full play to their passions. These two foreigners, equally rapacious and subtle, raised themselves, from a condition below mediocrity, to the summit of fortune. The council of state met only for form sake; its members debated, but they decided nothing. Every thing was regulated by a secret council, which assembled at undue hours, determined all measures, changed the political system, and acted upon maxims directly opposite to those of Henry IV. Concini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, and Father Cotton, were in the number of its members. Was Sulli wrong when he said, *We are going to fall under the dominion of Spain and the Jesuits; all good French-*

Secret  
council.

*men ought to look to themselves, for they will not long be left undisturbed?*

In fact, almost all the deliberations tended to an union between France and Spain, by the marriage of Anne of Austria with the king, and his sister Elizabeth with the son of Philip III., the dissolution of the alliances formed under the last reign, the ruin of the Calvinists, and the dissipation of the treasure, either to enrich favourites, or to purchase adherents. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, who relied upon the faith of treaties, was shamefully abandoned to the vengeance of the Spaniards; but Lesdiguières marched twice to his assistance, notwithstanding the king's prohibition, which is another proof of the weakness of the government.

The  
system  
of the  
last reign  
overturned.

Sulli could be looked upon only with an evil eye in this court, whence every sentiment of honour was banished. His manly frankness, his noble pride, made him incapable of yielding to pernicious counsels. He demanded leave to retire, which was granted with pleasure, and employed the rest of his life, which lasted till 1641, in doing an additional service to posterity, by writing his Memoirs; wherein he has transmitted to us his sentiments, and the maxims of his policy.

Sulli  
retires from  
court.

Once, when he returned to Paris, because the king stood in need of his advice, the courtiers ridiculing his dress and carriage, he said to Louis XIII., *When the king, your father, did me the honour to consult me, he first dismissed all the buffoons and fops of the court.* Must the glory and prosperity of a great kingdom depend upon two incomparable heads!

Rebellion  
of the  
prince of  
Condé.  
Meeting  
of the  
states:  
general.  
1614.

Troubles, civil wars, disorders and misfortunes, rapidly trod on the heels of each other. The whole state was filled with cabals. Condé, with some other princes of the blood, and a number of the chief nobility, rose in rebellion. As there was no force sufficient to reduce them, all their demands were granted by the treaty of Sainte-Menehould. In 1614, the states-general were assembled, in compliance with the leaders of the faction; but the meeting produced only disputes. The clergy, still tinctured with Italian prejudices, ardently solicited the publication of the council of Trent, and rejected, as a rash attempt, the proposal made by the third estate, to enact a law, declaring, *That no temporal nor spiritual power has a right to dispose of the kingdom, and to absolve the subjects from their oath of allegiance.* An arret of parliament, which ranks the independence of the crown among the fundamental laws, was afterwards annulled, as if the court of Rome had presided in the king's council.

Remon-  
strances  
of the  
parliament  
ill  
received.

In 1615, the parliament making remonstrances on the dissipation of the treasure left by Henry IV., only two millions of which were remaining, on the ruinous and useless expenses by which the state was weakened, and other abuses which were multiplying every day, an arret of council was issued in reply, declaring, that the parliament had no right to intermeddle in affairs of state. Afterwards, on the representations of the attorney-general, Louis gave only this brief reply, *It is my pleasure, and likewise the queen's.* The king might have governed alone, being of age the former year; but, though he was jealous of power, we shall find

him perpetually surrendering it into other hands.

The embarrassment of the court was increased by a new rebellion of the prince of Condé, supported by the Calvinists. This prince, after publishing a manifesto in the most violent terms, suffered himself to be duped, laid down his arms, returned to court, and was arrested in the middle of the Louvre in 1616. The Marechal d'Ancre, or rather his wife, then made a total change in the ministry, and promoted Richelieu, bishop of Lucon, to the office of secretary of state, who was one day to govern in the name of Louis XIII. Rewards were lavished upon men entirely undeserving; by which the malecontents were only emboldened, and the civil war was kindled for the fourth time. So enormous were the riches of Concini, who was at first very poor, that he offered to raise an army of seven thousand men at his own expense.

New  
rebellion  
of  
Condé.

The favourite, though equally detested and despised by the great men, supported himself against all their efforts; but he met with a more dangerous enemy in young Luines, whose fortune was almost equally amazing with his own. This man had risen to favour by his skill in training birds for the amusement of the monarch; and Louis being one of those weak minds, that suffer themselves to be governed by people who have the art of pleasing them, Luines found means to inspire him with a jealousy for his authority; persuaded him to shake off the yoke of a domineering mother, and to rid himself of a foreigner who governed that princess, and consequently was master of the

1617.  
Luines  
in favour,  
a rival  
of  
Concini.

He  
causes him  
to be  
killed.

kingdom. Orders were therefore given to arrest the Marechal d'Ancre ; and Vitri, captain of the guards, who was intrusted with that commission, executed it conformably to the views of Luines ; that is, Concini was slain, under pretence of attempting to resist. This service procured Vitri a marechal's staff. The mines had obtained the same reward for arresting the prince of Condé. How wretched must have been the government, when such actions led to the greatest military honours !

The  
wife of  
Marechal  
d'Ancre  
executed  
as a  
sorceress.

The trial of Galigai the Florentine's wife, was at once the height of absurdity and injustice. She was principally accused of sorcery and magic. The judge, who interrogated her, having demanded what charm she used to fascinate the queen-mother, she replied, *the ascendant which a superior genius always has over a weak mind*. The parliament declared her guilty of treason against God and man, and caused her to be beheaded, after which her body was thrown into the fire.

Credit  
given to  
magic  
and  
astrology.

Catharine Medici had brought from Florence the foolish practice of astrology, which was so firmly believed, that James de Thou, though an admirable historian, seems in this point tainted with the general credulity ; and Henry IV. caused his son's horoscope to be drawn. The court of Mary Medici was filled with astrologers ; and, doubtless, the accusation I have just mentioned took its rise from the encouragement given to such Italian impostors.

Overgrown  
fortune  
of  
Luines.

Whatever indignation had been raised by the credit and riches of the two Florentines, Luines, who was born in the territory of Avignon, and in some measure a foreigner as well

as they, did not dread to surpass their ambition. He enriched himself with their spoils, and in a short time rose, from the rank of a private gentleman, to the dignities of duke and peer, marechal, constable, and keeper of the seals. He wanted nothing but merit; but this was abundantly supplied by intrigue in the eyes of a prince, who was a slave to his favourites, till disgust made him change the object of his affection.

Mean time, the queen-mother lived in exile at Blois, where she entered into a plot with the duke d'Epemon, and made her escape, with a design to begin a civil war; but matters were accommodated with her and with the duke, by making them several advantageous concessions. A new quarrel broke out, and was followed by a new accommodation, which Mary Medici's chief counsellor, the bishop of Lucon, who had been in disgrace since the death of Concini, managed with skill, and by that means again opened for himself a way to preferment. That vast genius artfully concealed his passion for power.

1619.  
War and  
accommoda-  
tion with  
the  
queen:  
mother.

These numerous petty insurrections, which, though ill concerted, yet ended disgracefully to the sovereign, were followed by one so much the more violent, as religious motives gave a keener edge to their swords. From the beginning of this reign, provocations had been given to the Huguenots, who could scarcely be kept within bounds by the prudence of Henry IV. In 1617, Louis had offended them in the highest degree by an arret of council, ordering the restitution of the church-lands in the district of Bearn, which they had enjoyed above sixty

The  
Huguenots  
attempt  
to  
establish  
a  
republic.

years. Upon this their cabals were revived; and in a meeting at Rochelle, they resolved to erect a republic on the model of the Dutch.

Siege  
of  
Montauban.  
Death  
of  
Luines.

The constable Luines, equally presumptuous and ignorant, imagining that he could crush this formidable party, undertook the war, and Louis in person sate down before Montauban; but had the mortification of being obliged to raise the siege in 1621. Two great captains, the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise, were at the head of the Calvinists; and nothing could detach them from a cause which they thought themselves bound in duty to defend. Luines died after this disgraceful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Lesdiguieres abjured Calvinism to gain the constable's sword.

Sequel  
of  
the war.  
The  
rebels  
rewarded.

The war was continued with eagerness next year, and the king set an example of bravery; a quality very different from true fortitude, as it sometimes may be found in a soul otherwise feeble. Perhaps he would again have miscarried before Montpellier, which was defended with the same vigour as Montauban; but he prevented that affront by concluding a peace. Besides the confirmation of the Edict of Nantz, which had been already confirmed more than once, the chiefs of the rebels obtained all the favours which they desired. It was in a manner become customary to reward rebellion more than services.



## CHAPTER VII.

TRoubles OF ARMINIANISM IN HOLLAND. REIGN OF JAMES I., KING OF ENGLAND. FERDINAND II. OPPRESSES THE ELECTOR PALATINE, AND THREATENS THE LIBERTY OF GERMANY.

RELIGIOUS dissensions at this time revived with all their atrocity, mingled with the great affairs of politics, produced bloody catastrophes, shook thrones and nations, brought unhappiness on mankind, and reproach on human nature. Even Holland fell a prey to this unaccountable frenzy, which has disturbed the Christian world for the last thirteen centuries. In 1603, two theologians, professors at Leiden, Arminius and Gomar, had lighted up the torch of discord, on the subject of predestination and grace, a mystery which has always been rendered more incomprehensible by the systems of the doctors. Arminius wanted, at least, to soften the odious principles of Calvin; he refused to admit, that not only the salvation of the elect, but the eternal punishment of the reprobate, were a necessary consequence of the absolute decrees of the Almighty; but defended the goodness of God, and the liberty of

Religious  
dissensions  
more  
violent  
than ever.

Arminius  
and  
Gomar  
in Holland.

man, as far as the principles of his sect would permit. Gomar, a rigid and merciless Calvinist, not having reason on his side, substituted for it that persecuting enthusiasm which attracts the multitude. The Arminians only required a toleration, which they obtained from the states-general in 1614. Yet the theologists continued their disputes, and the two parties at last were so inflamed as to have recourse to violence.

Maurice,  
prince  
of  
Orange,  
takes  
advantage  
of  
the dispute  
to ruin  
Barnevelt.

The Gomarists were animated by Maurice, prince of Orange, who took advantage of those disturbances to oppress his country after having been its defender. The advocate-general Barnevelt, to whom he was indebted for the command, a man illustrious for his consummate virtue, and the services of every kind which he had done the state, protected the Arminians, while he watched over the public liberty. His ruin was determined. The doctrine of Arminius was condemned in the synod of Dort in 1619; Barnevelt lost his life on a scaffold in his old age; and his adherent, Grotius, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from whence he was delivered only by the ingenious tenderness of his wife. This system of persecution appears monstrous in a commonwealth, which owed its liberty to the hatred inspired by the persecuting policy of the Spaniards. Every thing bears a tincture of human extravagance.

The  
Dutch  
aggrandise  
themselves.

The Dutch, amidst their theological quarrels at least never lost sight of their commercial interest. Their India Company enlarged its settlements, and built Batavia in the isle of Java, which became the Amsterdam of Asia.

We shall soon see a war, of thirty years duration, kindled in Germany from religious motives, inflame the rest of Europe, and undermine the foundations of the Austrian power; but, that we may avoid confusion, let us first take a general view of the reign of James I. in England, a prince who ought to have interested himself much more deeply than he did in such an important affair.

James the First was learned with pedantry, a theologist with bigotry, and pacific from weakness of character; like the kings of France and Spain, a slave to favourites unworthy of his countenance, yet extremely jealous of absolute authority, which he looked upon as a right inherent in the crown. Being an infant when his mother Mary Stuart was dethroned, he had been educated in the Protestant religion; and some of the English Catholics, enraged at not finding in him the indulgence with which they had flattered themselves, in 1605, the third year after his accession, they formed the horrid gun-powder plot, which I have briefly mentioned elsewhere.

Character  
of  
James I.

Thirty-six barrels of gun-powder were concealed under the Parliament-house, to bury in one grave the king, the royal family, the peers of the realm, and the commons. Lord Mount-eagle, having luckily received a billet, warning him to absent himself from the meeting, because they would receive a *terrible blow*, communicated this information, and James unriddled the secret. The greatest part of the conspirators perished with their arms in their hands. Two Jesuits, Garnet and Oldecorne, were accused of having encouraged them to

Gun:  
powder  
plot.

the commission of the crime, at confession. This would be but one example more of the crimes with which false zeal, and false systems of morality, at that time stained the holy ministry.

Vain  
attempts  
to  
restore  
Episcopacy  
in  
Scotland.

In vain did James display his theology, and exert his power, to establish Epicopacy among the *Presbyterians* of Scotland, who thought that they had brought back the apostolic times, by refusing to acknowledge any other heads than the *elders* of their sect. He justly looked upon bishops as the supports of the royal authority, and openly said, *No bishop, no king*. But these fanatics, animated by the love of independence, drew from thence a new motive to resist him ; he could neither convince nor reduce them. The English puritans, actuated by the same spirit, in the succeeding reign destroyed the crown.

James  
endangers  
the  
royal  
authority.

The imprudent conduct of James paved the way for that fatal revolution. By perpetually insisting upon the maxims of arbitrary power, which the Tudors had followed without opposition, he gave birth to republican ideas. The people reasoned on authority, discussed its principles, investigated its source, went back to the times when it was confined within very narrow limits, drew from history and ancient literature sentiments of liberty, which conjunctures would necessarily disclose, and thought they had a right to struggle against prerogative. The parliament of 1610 made bold attempts in this way, and was dissolved with indignation.

His want  
of  
economy.

James ought to have followed the example of Elizabeth, and by economy have freed himself from the necessity of parliamentary supplies ; but he was in want of money, and pro-

digal. After having raised two hundred thousand pounds sterling by the sale of the title of Baronet, he found himself obliged to call another parliament in 1614; when, finding the commons more eager to contest his rights, he hastened their dissolution, though by that means he lost the subsidy.

Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, his minion and minister, was at that time supplanted by another favourite. Young Villars played the same part in England that Luines did in France. He was at once created duke of Buckingham, master of the horse, and high-admiral. Riches were showered upon his family, as well as on his own head. The king, in order to raise money, restored to the Dutch, Brille, Flessing, and Rammekins, three important places, which had been put into the hands of Elizabeth, as pledges for the money she had lent to the republic. These sums amounted to seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which he required only about a third. The three places were a great expense, and of no essential advantage. Yet the people were fired with no less indignation at the conduct of James, which appeared to reflect dishonour on the nation; and, in such delicate conjunctures, regard ought to be paid to the public opinion.

Somerset  
and  
Buckingham:  
ham.

Places  
restored to  
the  
Dutch.

Such was the government of a prince, more powerful, and yet much more weak, than Elizabeth; when those bloody scenes opened in Germany, by which all Europe was shaken.

The Protestants of the empire, as we have already said, had entered into a new league for the maintenance of their liberties; they remon-

The  
Protestants  
of Germany  
in  
motion.

strated against the proceedings of the Aulic council, and required that the two religions should, in every respect, be placed upon an equal footing. Some reasons of complaint had been given them, and they thought themselves more aggrieved than they really were. Mathias fomented these troubles, and made use of them to seize the dominions of his brother Rodolphus II., whose indolence, and fondness for trifles, increased every day. In 1608, he forced the emperor to yield up Hungary and Austria. In 1611, the year after the famous *evangelic* union of Halle, he likewise deprived him of Bohemia by force of arms, and left him only the vain title of emperor. Rodolphus complained in an electoral diet; but was told, in plain terms, that he ought to blame himself for the contempt which exposed him to so many misfortunes. After this, tortured with vexation and suspicion, distrusting his nearest friends, and implicitly giving himself up to the counsels of the famous astronomer, Ticho Brahé, who adopted the chimeras of astrology, he made himself inaccessible, and in a manner invisible, till death relieved him from his sorrows in 1612.

Insurrection  
of the  
Bohemians  
under  
Mathias.

After an interregnum of some months, for there was no king of the Romans, Mathias was elected emperor, under whose reign the quarrels broke out. Though the Protestants of Bohemia had been granted the public exercise of their religion, the clergy caused some of their churches to be demolished in 1618; upon which they immediately rose in rebellion, with all the fury of the ancient Hussites; broke in-

to the citadel of Prague, entered the council-chamber, threw the secretary and two counselors of state out of the window, seized upon the government, drove out the Jesuits and royalists, raised an army against *the enemies of God, religion, and the edicts of the emperor*, and asserted, by a manifesto, that they had only acted agreeably to the laws and customs of the kingdom.

Mathias was desirous of employing gentle methods ; but entirely different maxims, those of the Spanish court, were pursued by his cousin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, whom he had adopted in prejudice of his own brothers, and who was already appointed king of Bohemia and Hungary. All hope of peace vanished ; the states of Silesia, Moravia, and even those of Upper Austria, declared in favour of the Bohemians. The Dutch and the union of Halle promised them succours ; and the celebrated count Mansfeld, a natural son of the governor of Flanders, who had already served against the house of Austria, actually joined them with the troops of the union. Every thing prognosticated a bloody war ; but Mathias died of vexation in 1619, before these events of the greatest importance took place.

The  
mischiefs  
increased and  
spread.

Had the French ministry been endowed with abilities and vigour, the house of Austria would have lost the imperial dignity. The elector palatine proposed his cousin, the duke of Bavaria, in the diet ; and that election was facilitated by the conjunctures. But the constable Luines, at that time all-powerful at the court of Louis XIII., acted in concert with the Spa-

1619.  
Ferdinand  
II.  
succeeds  
his  
cousin  
Mathias.

niards, and supported the archduke Ferdinand, who was elected ; a prince too much attached to the principles of arbitrary power, though in other respects endowed with superior qualifications, and capable of increasing the Austrian power in Germany. Meantime, the count de la Tour, chief of the rebels, spread terror even into Austria ; and, had he been more diligent, might have seized Vienna.

The  
Bohemians  
depose  
him.

The Bohemians, not contented with refusing to acknowledge Ferdinand II. emperor, solemnly deposed him at Prague, under pretence that he had violated their privileges, and that he had entered into a confederacy with Spain to destroy the right of election, and make the crown hereditary in his family. They offered this crown to the elector Palatine Frederic V., head of the Protestant League, and son-in-law of the king of England ; which he imprudently accepted, being drawn to the precipice by the advice of his wife and his flatterers. His father-in-law, James I., and his uncle, the prince of Orange, in vain remonstrated to him against this rash attempt. Spain sent twenty thousand men to the assistance of the Catholic League ; but James remained quiet, notwithstanding the ardour shown by the English for a cause which affected their religion and the honour of the crown.

The  
elector  
palatine  
loses  
the battle of  
Prague.

Frederic lost the battle of Prague in 1620, and was obliged to save himself by flight. Being a bigotted and intolerant Calvinist, he had made himself equally odious to the Lutherans and Catholics, which was not the least cause of his misfortunes ; for we see that religion, ill understood, always was the soul of party.



Till then, Ferdinand had shown moderation in supporting his just rights ; but victory converted him into a despot. Without consulting the electors, and in contradiction to the capitulation he had sworn to observe at his accession, for a dispute merely personal, he put Frederic and his adherents under the ban of the empire, made himself master of the Palatinate, and ordered cruel executions. The Protestant union, unable any longer to resist, entered into a treaty with the Spaniards, and was dissolved. The emperor was doubtless little acquainted with the value of literature, as he gave, or suffered the duke of Bavaria to give, to pope Gregory XV. the elector's noble library at Heidelberg, which the Germans regret even to this day, and which contained some of the most ancient remains of their literature.

1621.  
Ferdinand  
invades  
the  
Palatinate.

The king of England had assembled a parliament, not with any intention of making war, but in order to obtain subsidies, as if it had been resolved upon. It is true, he obtained them ; but notwithstanding saw his prerogative more violently attacked than ever. His chancellor Francis Bacon, so celebrated in the literary world, having been guilty of several misdemeanours, was impeached by the commons, imprisoned, and fined forty thousand pounds. The parliament turned an inquisitive eye on the rights of the crown and the affairs of state ; and James having forbidden them to intermeddle in such matters, the house of commons replied, that it was their *birth-right* to give advice on the affairs of government. But he maintained, that the privileges of the house

Faults  
committed  
by  
James I.

were grants from the sovereign, not birth-rights ; and the commons entering a protest, he sent for the journals, tore out the protest, dissolved the parliament, imprisoned some of the members, and forbid all discourse upon public affairs ; not being sensible that this was the way to make people speak with more freedom. From this celebrated parliament rose the *court* and *country* parties, afterwards called *Tories* and *Whigs*.

The  
Palatinate  
given  
to the duke  
of  
Bavaria.  
1623.

The unhappy Frederic receiving no assistance from his father-in-law, who only negotiated, and suffered himself to be amused by the Spanish court, and being equally neglected by his uncle, the prince of Orange, fell a sacrifice to the despotism and revenge of the emperor. In a diet held at Ratisbon, to which none were summoned but the electors, and a few princes devoted to the imperial court, Ferdinand, by a plurality of voices, conferred the Palatinate on the duke of Bavaria, and even attempted to oblige all the states of the empire to open the gates of their fortresses, when he or his troops appeared before them. But the diet rejected this odious proposal, which discovered the emperor's intentions, and the dangers that threatened Germany.

Count Tilli  
victorious  
in  
Germany.

The arms of count Tilli, a Fleming, general of the Catholic League, bore down all opposition. He gained several victories over the Protestants, who were divided among themselves ; and these were so many triumphs for the imperial court. Had not a man of Richelieu's genius been at last set at the head of affairs in France, it was to be dreaded that the

house of Austria would execute the schemes formerly projected by Charles V. Before we proceed to the epoch of his ministry, we shall give a short account of the most interesting events in the Spanish history.

## CHAPTER VIII.

CONSPIRACY OF THE SPANIARDS AGAINST VENICE.  
OBSERVATIONS ON SPAIN.

**Philip III.**  
and  
the duke of  
Lerma. **A** WEAK, indolent monarch, governed by his favourites; a minister equally incapable, and equally governed; such were Philip III., king of Spain, and the duke of Lerma. In 1618, the duke was complimented with a cardinal's hat; yet he was exiled by his master in the same year.

**Spanish**  
**conspiracy**  
**against**  
**Venice.** Though the government was void of spirit and prudence, ambition was not extinguished. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Peter of Toledo, governor of the Milanese, and the marquis of Bedmar, ambassador at Venice, formed a scheme for subjecting the Venetians, and, with them, the rest of Italy. Without being formally authorized by the court, they set on foot a famous conspiracy to bring Venice under their dominion. The troops of Milan on one side, on the other a number of barks, sent from the kingdom of Naples, were to act at the same time; and the city was to be set on fire by a troop of conspirators, which would render it incapable of resisting so many unforeseen attacks. This extraordinary plot was dis-

covered by the vigilance of the senate, in 1618, when the greatest part of the conspirators were privately drowned. The marquis of Bedmar, who had violated the law of nations in the most flagrant manner, having escaped by flight, was sent into Flanders, where he became prime minister to the archdukes, and soon after cardinal. Toledo was recalled from the Milanese, but Ossuna remained viceroy of Naples. He had done great service against the Turks, who continually infested Sicily, whence, in the space of thirty years, they had carried off more than three hundred thousand slaves. This scourge absorbed all the revenues of a state formerly flourishing.

Spain, which was still more dispeopled by the destructive causes already mentioned, was in such want of labourers, that, in 1620, an edict was published by Philip III., granting certain honours of nobility, and exemption from military service, to those who applied to agriculture. But the Spaniards chose rather to languish in idleness and poverty. A good government would have found other methods for reviving the most important of all arts. As it was despised by the nobility, could it be supposed that men would be excited to cultivate it by granting them privileges of nobility, especially in Spain, where prejudices seemed at that time invincible?

It is said that Philip himself fell a victim to the absurd tyranny of custom. Immediately after his recovery from an illness, when attending some business in the council-chamber, the vapour of a large stove affected his head; and, though he complained of it, yet the person

Nobility  
offered  
to  
husbands:  
men.

Death  
of  
Philip III.  
1621.

who, by the Ceremonial,\* was to take care of the fire, being out of the way, nobody dared to remove the stove; by which delay the king grew worse, and died.

Philip  
IV.  
governed by  
Olivarez.

He had enjoined his son, Philip IV., who was only sixteen years of age, to make no change in the ministry. Yet he was no sooner dead, than a total alteration ensued. Guzman, count, and afterwards duke, of Olivarez, became master of the kingdom; who, though young, and a favourite, was at least eminent for his political talents.

1624.  
Ordinance  
to  
remedy  
the evils of  
Spain.

I shall only take notice here of an ordinance published in 1624, by which we see that he endeavoured to find a remedy for evils that were almost incurable. By this law, two thirds of the officers of justice and of the revenue were suppressed. Population was favoured, by exempting men newly married from public offices for four years, and all who had six male children, from taxes during life. Marriage, without the consent of parents, was likewise permitted; a measure more dangerous than useful. The inhabitants of the provinces were forbidden to come to Madrid or Seville, without important business, under pain of a considerable fine; and, for a still stronger reason, all persons were prohibited from quitting the kingdom with their property and families, without the king's permission. Foreign artificers and labourers settling in Spain were pro-

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\* I know not upon what authority M. Desormaux relates this fact, which to us appears so extraordinary. But as this writer, who is a Member of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, does not adopt many of the tales relating to the Spanish Ceremonial, his testimony here has doubtless some foundation.

mised an exemption from all taxes and contributions. Even the king's children were forbidden to keep more than eighteen domestics. Gold and silver ornaments were allowed only for divine service; and silk cloaks, which vanity had made common among the poor as well as the rich, were likewise forbidden.

It is very surprising to see a great monarchy, which possessed the gold of the New World, reduced to the necessity of making sumptuary laws. Without examining the advantage or inconvenience of these laws, let us take a short view of the internal causes of the decay which must necessarily waste Spain, till a vigorous legislation, roused by the excess of the evil, shall totally eradicate the causes of its decline. The work of Don Bernardo de Ulloa, on the reestablishment of the manufactures and commerce of Spain, and that of Don Hustaris on the same subject, furnish excellent ideas, to which something may be added by a Frenchman. I confine myself only to a few reflections, which are applicable to every defective government.

Causes  
of  
the decay of  
that  
kingdom.

The most essential point unquestionably was to repeople Spain, and revive agriculture; but how was it possible to draw inhabitants to that country, if the Inquisition there exercised its tyrannical power; if distrust and terror were spread through the whole body of the society; if a man's having a thought of his own was sufficient to expose him to imprisonment, torture, and death; if the most industrious, though they were at the same time the most peaceable, could not enjoy the rights of citizens, unless they scrupulously regulated their words and actions at the pleasure of the in-

Obstacles  
to  
population.

quisitors? The Spaniards were in a manner crushed under the yoke; and could it be supportable to strangers? I make not the least mention of the fatal consequences produced by enslaving reason, though it commonly plunges the intellectual faculties into a kind of lethargy, which at once annihilates science and the arts.

Obstacles  
to  
agriculture  
and inland  
trade.

Agriculture can never flourish, unless with the help of inland trade. Labour must be encouraged; it must be possible to procure the necessities and even conveniences of life, in exchange for the surplus of the productions of the earth. But a thousand obstacles stood in the way of inland trade. There were no canals, no high roads, or they were in a bad condition, and had no places of refreshment; the inns were unprovided with every thing, and very expensive; heavy customs levied almost at every step; the same duties from province to province that would be exacted were they so many petty kingdoms; and even money absurdly prohibited from being carried out of them, how was it possible to set in motion the arm of the husbandman when thus tied down?

Without  
inland trade,  
agriculture  
must  
decay.

What benefit could he reap from raising a superfluity, which he could not dispose of? Some would have seen their corn rot, without being able to purchase wine; and others, who had cellars full of wine, would not have known how to furnish themselves with corn. Thus do unreasonable laws and customs, thus does the blindness or rigour of sovereigns, ruin the finest countries in the world.

The decay  
of  
agriculture  
brings

Wherever raw materials proper to be manufactured are found, there exists an intimate connexion, or reciprocal influence, between



manufactures and agriculture. Plenty of the means of subsistence increases the number of artificers; and that number increasing the consumption, animates and extends cultivation. All things mutually aid each other, all acquire new life, and increase the public good. But if the lands be abandoned, the workshops are deserted; and if manufactures decay, labour slackens in the fields.

on that of  
trade.

This necessarily happened when the Spaniards neglected real riches for imaginary wealth, when they flocked in crowds to the mines of America, and when, at last, superstition banished those of the remaining inhabitants, whose industry rendered them the most necessary. From that time, they could neither manufacture the silks of Valencia, nor the wools of Andalusia and Castile; they looked with contempt upon trades and on the plough; they thought gold and silver stood in stead of every thing else; and their idleness was increased to such a height by their pride, that, even in a state of indigence, the generality were ashamed to work for their bread. A people ashamed of labour must certainly be unhappy.

Contempt  
of the  
Spaniards  
for  
the plough,  
for arts,  
and  
trades.

Hence it followed, that their riches were not for themselves, but for foreigners, who fed and clothed them. In the kingdom, all kinds of provision and manufactures rose to an excessive price, either because it was not kept down by a number of sellers, or from the obstacles thrown in the way of trade, or the enormous taxes laid upon the labour of artificers and articles of food. Foreign merchandises, therefore, were sought after. Thus was a state, which ought to have been enriched by its na-

Their riches  
fell  
into the  
hands  
of  
foreigners.

tive productions, continually impoverished, to the advantage of those whom their necessities might have made its tributaries. Its gold flowed incessantly out of the country, and spread in those where agriculture and industry prevailed.

Other  
causes.

Let us add to these causes the ruinous pomp of the court and the grandees, the number and opulence of the churches, convents, and receptacles of celibacy, where the sole business is prayer ; the immense extent of the monarchy, the parts of which being too remote, and all badly governed, weakened the body which they seemed to render so formidable ; the evils of despotism, which had crushed a people once free, and thus ruined their activity, and enervated their virtue ; the superstitious ignorance which, on one side, consecrated and multiplied abuses, and, on the other, turned all the efforts of genius to the absurdities of the schools, or the amusements of the theatre ; Mariana and a few others making the only exception.

What we have now said is more than sufficient to explain how the Spaniards, with so many rich conquests, a soil so fruitful, and a situation so advantageous, with a great fund of courage, genius, and virtue, were reduced to such a deplorable state, from which they will not recover but with difficulty. We shall see them one day governed by sovereigns of the Bourbon family, under whom their vigour and genius were destined to revive.

Holland  
prevails over  
Spain.

To conclude, Holland, which before it shook off the yoke was nothing, and which had been acknowledged a free state only at the truce in 1609, triumphed over the Spanish fleets ; and

Philip IV. coined base money to pay his debts. Let it now be judged which was preferable, the possession of America, or the cultivation of Spain; the oppression of the subjects, or the promotion of their happiness; the establishment of sumptuary laws, or a reform of the errors in the government.

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## THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA HUMBLLED. THE  
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND GIVES LAW TO  
THE SOVEREIGN.

FROM THE YEAR MDCXXIV, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE  
REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

## CHAPTER I.

FIRST YEARS OF THE MINISTRY OF CARDINAL  
RICHELIEU. TAKING OF ROCHELLE. CABALS AND  
REBELLIONS.

A NEW system of policy is now ready to disclose itself, and change the face of Europe. A superior genius governing the French monarchy, ruling the weak king with absolute dominion, subduing the audacity of the Calvinists, and the seditious ambition of the grantees to the yoke, will astonish the world by the greatness of his enterprises. He will shed rivers of blood, he will rule with a rod of iron, render France miserable, and be dreaded and hated as

General  
idea of this  
epoch.

much as admired ; but his ministry will make one of the principal epochs in history, by the revolutions and celebrated events which it will produce. The most brilliant, even the most necessary parts of history, seldom present any other aspect than that of deep tragedy.

Rise  
of  
Richelieu.  
1624.

Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, for several years aspired to the government. Being a creature of Concini, and involved in his disgrace, he had put on a mask of indifference, and even piety, which imposed only on those who did not know him. By making peace between the queen-mother and Louis XIII. in 1619, he had procured for himself a cardinal's hat ; and Mary Medici having recovered her seat in the council, used her utmost endeavours to procure admittance for him, though the king had excluded him by an express stipulation. That devout prince was not only shocked by the gallantries of the cardinal, but dreaded his ambitious temper, and the superiority of his genius ; yet he yielded to the queen's importunities, though resolved not to intrust the authority with a man of such a character. Richelieu gave out, that his ill state of health made him unable to go through the fatigue of business ; but it was not long before he pulled off the mask ; and the speedy disgrace of two ministers, who opposed him, was a prognostic of that absolute authority which he was desirous to assume. He became prime minister and all-powerful only in 1629 ; but, from his first entrance into the council, he had the chief influence in all affairs.

1624.  
Great  
political  
views, but

The ministry no more acted at random, without any fixed aim, nor with a weakness that rendered it contemptible. The state of

Europe was considered, in which it was seen that France ought to interest herself; and the plan of Henry IV. was resumed, to curb the power of the house of Austria, which Ferdinand II. was every day rendering more formidable. Negotiations were carried on in the different courts, and preparations made for vigorous enterprises. The success of these might have been insured by a good system of economy; but Richelieu was of a character entirely different from Sulli. Haughty, unjust, and tyrannical; through the whole course of his administration he neglected the principal resources of the state, those which a mild and prudent government finds in the happiness and affection of the subjects.

James I. suffered himself to be drawn into the political schemes of Richelieu. That weak monarch, with a view to restore the elector palatine, his son-in-law, had long negotiated a treaty of marriage between his son, Charles I., and the Infanta of Spain, notwithstanding the aversion of the English from an alliance with that country. Young Charles, impatient of the delays, by the advice of Buckingham, and accompanied by that rash favourite, had executed the romantic project of going to pay his court to that princess in person. He had pleased, attracted esteem, and the affair seemed to be concluded, when the duke of Buckingham, having drawn upon himself the hatred of the Spaniards by his insolence and debauchery, gave the prince of Wales a disgust to the match, took him out of the country, caused the whole negotiation to be broken off, and rendered a war unavoidable, of which James could not

no  
economy.

Negotiates  
for the  
marriage  
of  
the prince of  
Wales  
with  
the Infanta.

even bear the thoughts. The court of France taking advantage of this conjuncture, gave Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII., to Charles, with eight hundred thousand crowns for her portion. Thus did England become an enemy to the house of Austria.

Death  
of  
James I.  
Remarkable  
bill.

James died the following year, 1625, amidst the vexations given him both by this rupture and the attempts made upon his prerogative within the kingdom. A new parliament had, a little before, abolished all monopolies. The bill declared, that *every subject may freely dispose of his own actions, provided they be not injurious to any other person; and that this right can be limited by no authority except the laws.* Charles I., who inherited the principles of his father, and, like him, was guided by the counsels of Buckingham, began in troubles an unfortunate reign, which he was destined to end upon a scaffold.

Affair of the  
Valteline.  
1621.

The war of the Valteline gave an early proof of the vigour of the French ministry. That small province, which was subject to the Grisons, having risen in rebellion, solicited the assistance of the Spaniards; and as the Valtelines were Catholic, and the Grisons Protestant, the court of Madrid coloured their intention of keeping it, with the religious pretext of securing it from the ravages of heresy. Accordingly, some fortresses were erected in it by the governor of the Milanese, and a communication was by that means opened with Germany. Soon after this enterprise, Spain, by a treaty concluded with France in 1621, obliged herself to restore the Valteline to the Grisons, but the treaty was not carried into execution; and though negotiations were again set on



foot, they ended only in sequestrating the for-  
tresses of that province in the hands of the  
pope. But when Richelieu became minister,  
he took a short method to get over the diffi-  
culties, by entering into a league with Venice  
and the duke of Savoy ; after which, a French  
army drove out the garrisons of Urban VIII.,  
and restored matters to their former condition.  
From that time Europe reckoned that the  
court of France was rousing from its lethargy.  
Another league was concluded with Holland,  
which, after the expiration of the truce in 1621,  
had again been attacked. However, Spinola  
found means to force Breda, after a siege of  
ten months.

The Huguenots, who were always injured  
and always seditious, having again taken arms,  
Richelieu resolved to break their power ; but  
the circumstances were not yet ripe. Though  
their fleet had been defeated, and they were  
driven out of the isle of Rhée, they obtained  
the same advantageous terms of peace as be-  
fore. The cardinal, to use his own expression,  
thought that he must *again give the world occa-  
sion of scandal*, that he might act with vigour  
against the house of Austria. Virulent libels  
were published against him, in which he was  
styled the *Patriarch of the Atheists* ; but though  
he was too much affected with those contemp-  
tible pieces of ribaldry, he pursued his plan  
with ardour. He had already filled the great  
men of the kingdom with apprehensions, by  
his attempts to bring them under obedience ;  
defied the resentment of Gaston, duke of Or-  
leans, the king's brother ; and not only in-  
trigues, but conspiracies, were formed against

Peace with  
the  
Huguenots.

him. Never had minister so many enemies or difficulties to encounter, but these only served to give vigour to his genius ; and the ambition to which he was a prey, inspired him with a courage that necessarily surmounted all opposition.

1627.  
England in  
favour of  
the  
Huguenots.

His vast political designs might be obstructed by the commotions of the Huguenots, but their ruin was hastened by a sudden rupture between England and France. Ever since the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta, the inconsiderate zeal of the Catholics, who had been attached to the service of the queen, had secretly irritated the nation ; but the discontent had only showed itself in murmurs, when Buckingham engaged the kingdom in the quarrel of the Calvinists, in order to gratify a foolish passion. That imprudent minister being desirous of paying another visit to the queen of France, Anne of Austria, with whom he had the insolence to fall in love, had taken a journey into that country, under pretence of signing a treaty against Spain ; but the cardinal being informed of his sentiments, caused him to be denied admittance at court, when, out of resentment for this refusal, and jealousy of the cardinal, he determined his master in favour of the Huguenots, who were projecting a new rebellion. Charles entered upon this unnecessary war in very critical circumstances, while the parliament was making warm opposition to the regal power, and trusted the management of it to his minister, who, from incapacity, miscarried in the first campaign. Thus do ridiculous caprices become the spring which sets

governments in motion, and a wrong choice exposes princes to irreparable misfortunes.

Richelieu then executed one of the most glorious enterprises in his ministry. He attacked Rochelle, the bulwark of the Huguenots, shut up the port against the English, by a dyke which was amazingly constructed in the sea, and commanded the troops in person, with all the valour and skill of an accomplished general. In vain did the mayor Guiton, showing a dagger, and laying it upon the council-table, declare, that with that dagger he would stab the first who ventured to speak of surrendering. In vain did the two duchesses of Rohan animate the fanatical courage of the besieged by their example. Buckingham, who was on the point of setting sail with a new fleet, having been assassinated, the English arrived too late, and were repulsed before the dyke. After eleven months resistance, the inhabitants of Rochelle, exhausted by all the horrors of famine and war, were constrained to submit. They lost their privileges; their fortifications were destroyed; but, at least, they were left in possession of their property, and liberty of conscience.

This conquest cost forty millions. Louis XIII. assisted several months at the siege, and exposed himself to danger with heroic bravery. In personal courage he was equal to Henry IV., though so much his inferior in every other respect. However, Richelieu boasted that he had taken Rochelle, maugre the opposition of the king of Spain, the king of England, and the king of France; in fact, the jealous and ambitious lords had used their utmost endea-

1628.  
Richelieu  
besieges  
Rochelle.

Difficulties  
of that  
conquest.

vours to thwart him with the king ; and though the court of Madrid had engaged to second him against the Calvinists, their fleet appeared without doing any thing. It is said to have retired under a frivolous pretext, only because Louis refused to the admiral the privilege of being covered in his presence. It is more probable that the admiral had orders not to act.

Peace with  
the  
Calvinists.  
The religious war was terminated in the following year, 1629, when the duke of Rohan obtained advantageous terms, as he had always done. The Calvinists preserved the public exercise of their worship. By losing their fortresses, they lost the dangerous facility of supporting a civil war. If no tyranny was exercised against their consciences, they might become good subjects ; and Richelieu was a man of too great ability to rekindle a fanaticism which would naturally die away in a calm.

War  
of  
Mantua.  
Before the end of this war, another was begun in Italy, to secure the succession of Mantua to Charles Gonzago, duke of Nevers, lawful heir of the last duke Vincent, who died in 1627. He was opposed by the emperor, the king of Spain, Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy, and almost all the states of Italy. But the arms of France were triumphant. Louis put himself at the head of an army, gloriously forced the pass of Susa, compelled the duke of Savoy to join him, obliged the Spaniards to raise the siege of Casal, and returned to combat the Huguenots. In the second campaign, 1629, Richelieu, who was named prime minister with unlimited power, signalized his military skill. Charles Emanuel, who had broken his engagements, being pressed on every side,

and his fortresses taken, died of vexation. But without descending to particulars, let us content ourselves with observing, that, at the end of the year 1630, the imperialists evacuated Mantua, of which they had taken possession.

If the French minister had at heart the glory of the state, on which his own depended, he was no less attentive to support his own fortune against the cabals that were perpetually springing up. By giving the king an opportunity for exercising his courage in the war of Italy, he thought that he had freed himself from the uneasiness given him by the court intrigues. But Louis falling sick in Savoy, and returning to Lyons, where his distemper became very dangerous, the two queens, Mary Medici and Anne of Austria, took advantage of his weakness, and determined him to ruin the cardinal. But after the king's recovery, the minister found means to dispel the storm, which, notwithstanding, soon broke out afresh with redoubled violence. He already thought of retiring, and was contriving means to secure his treasures, when he luckily found an opportunity of coming to an explanation with Louis; and the first conversation produced a total change. Such is the influence which genius can acquire over a weak mind!

The  
two queens  
attempt  
the  
ruin of  
Richelieu.

The minister's revenge was equal to his power. He imprisoned Marillac, the keeper of the seals; arrested his brother the marechal de Marillac, who then commanded the army in Piedmont, a nobleman respectable for his services, and caused him to be tried by commissioners, who were rather the instruments of his passion than ministers of justice. The indict-

He revenges  
himself  
on  
Marillac.

ment turned upon some abuses in the command of the army, which were then but too common ; and the marechal lost his life on a scaffold. The queen mother herself fell a sacrifice, and was sent prisoner to Compeigne, whence she made her escape to Brussels, where she lived in want even of the common necessities of life.

Revolt  
of Gaston.  
Montmorenci  
beheaded.

Gaston, the king's brother, retired to Lorraine, to secure himself, as he said, from tyranny ; and his attendants were declared guilty of high treason. Soon after, he took arms, and drew the marechal de Montmorenci into his rebellion, which was followed by new acts of vengeance. The brave Montmorenci, who a little before had beaten the imperialists, the Spaniards, and the duke of Savoy's troops at Vegliana, who was universally beloved, whose pardon every man wished for, and whose repentance deserved clemency, was mercilessly given up to the executioner. Neither the king nor the minister had any idea of gaining men's hearts by forgiving.

While these dreadful executions were multiplied in France, and, in some measure, revived the reign of Louis XI. Richelieu fomented the famous war in Germany, of which it is now time to trace the progress.

## CHAPTER II.

FERDINAND II. DISGUSTS THE GERMANS BY HIS DESPOTISM. STATE OF THE NORTH. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS UNITED WITH FRANCE. EVENTS OF THIS WAR TILL MDCXXXV.

WE have seen the emperor Ferdinand II. following the steps of Charles V. openly attacking the Germanic liberty, depriving the Elector Palatine of his dominions, conferring that electorate on the duke of Bavaria, crushing the Protesant League, and spreading terror on every side, by means of his generals. But his despotism, his ambition, and even his successes, were less calculated to make him master of Germany, than to stir up enemies against him; and he was doomed one day to feel, that crushing the one was arming the other.

Ferdinand  
makes  
himself  
formidable  
to  
Germany.

Christian IV., king of Denmark, a prince instructed in the sciences, brave, and fond of glory; in league with France, England, and Holland; general of the circle of Lower Saxony, of which he was a member, in quality of duke of Holstein; for some years defended the cause of the unhappy Frederic; and the celebrated Mansfield, who, having retired into Holland,

Christian  
IV.  
at war with  
him.

increased his reputation by obliging Spinola to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, had afterwards attached himself to the service of Christian. But Ferdinand's generals, Tilli and Walstein, joined to the most uncommon capacity a force too much superior to their opponents. The king of Denmark, after seeing the enemy in his country, made peace in 1629, upon advantageous terms, agreeably to the wishes of Walstein, who by this means hoped to keep possession of the duchy of Mecklenburgh, which had been lately granted him by the emperor.

New acts  
of  
despotism  
by  
Ferdinand.

Putting the dukes of Mecklenburgh and Mantua under the ban of the empire, and the nomination of an archduke to the see of Magdeburgh, though there was a coadjutor of the house of Saxony, were new instances of Ferdinand's despotic authority ; which he seemed to carry to the utmost height, by his edict of 1629, ordering the Protestants, without distinction, to restore the ecclesiastical lands of which they had been in possession ever since the year 1555, and permitting the Catholic princes to drive out the Protestants who were settled in their dominions ; the whole under penalty of the ban of the empire to whoever should oppose the execution of that edict.

The  
spirit  
of liberty  
revived  
in  
the states.

So violent a proceeding necessarily inspired the greater alarm, as the emperor's troops, to the number of one hundred and sixty thousand men, were laying waste the country, and committing dreadful acts of extortion, while the states groaned under the arbitrary imposts which he levied. According to M. Pfeffel, the margraviate of Brandenburg alone had paid



twenty millions of crowns in less than four years. Ferdinand's views are expressed by a famous saying of Walstein, who used frequently to repeat, that *the electors must be reduced to the condition of the Spanish grandees, and the bishops to the rank of chaplains to the emperor.*

Diet  
at  
Ratisbon.

But at last men's eyes were opened. Even the princes of the Catholic League perceived the yoke with which they were threatened as well as the others. They assembled at Heidelberg, from whence they sent a deputation to the emperor, praying him to restore the peace of the empire, to dismiss part of his troops, and to put an end to the grievances of the states. The electoral diet which was held at Ratisbon the following year, 1630, showed the disposition of men's minds in the clearest light. This meeting, before it granted any thing, insisted on the disbanding of sixteen thousand cuirassiers, and the dismissal of Walstein, who commanded with absolute power; and to this Ferdinand consented, thinking that he could ensure success to his demands. But every thing was refused him; not only the succours which he required for the war, but the title of king of the Romans for his son. This was a salutary lesson, if he would have taken counsel from experience.

Discontents  
raised  
by the edict  
of  
restitution.

However, the edict of *restitution* was rigorously put in execution. Except the elector of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg, all the Protestant princes submitted, as they had neither the courage nor the power to resist. They testified their discontent only by complaints; and the murmurs grew to such a height, that the elector of Bavaria proposed

to let that fatal edict *sleep* forty years. The emperor, on the contrary, would listen to nothing, and redoubled his violences; but the time was come when the liberty of Germany was to find an avenger in Gustavus Adolphus. To be well acquainted with this hero, it is necessary to have some idea of the state of the North, and especially of Sweden, at that period.

Northern  
history.

From the time of Gustavus Vasa we meet with scarcely any thing interesting in the North. Neither the wars of the Danes, Swedes, Poles, and Muscovites against one another, nor the revolutions that happened in those countries, where the sceptre passed from hand to hand at the pleasure of the strongest, have any connection with the general system of Europe. Let us observe, in a few words, the most remarkable facts.

Eric  
deposed  
in Sweden.

Eric, son of Gustavus Vasa, having lost his crown and liberty by sentence of the states of Sweden, which found him guilty of several crimes, his brother John was substituted in his place, who attempted in vain to restore the Catholic religion, which he professed. He died in 1592. It is remarked, that he had no physician; so totally were the arts still unknown in that country. Sigismond, son of John, who some years before had been elected king of Poland, joined his paternal dominions to that crown; but his too great zeal for the Catholic religion drawing on him the hatred of the Swedes, who were zealous Lutherans, he was

Sigismond  
deposed.

Charles IX.

deposed, and Charles IX., his uncle, put in his room. The Poles engaged in a war for Sigismond, but without success; Charles kept the

crown till his death, and in 1611 was succeeded by his son, the famous Gustavus Adolphus.

This was the time when Russia fell a prey to civil wars. The czar Theodore had given orders to put to death his brother Demetrius, and was himself poisoned, or at least is imagined to have been poisoned, by his brother-in-law Borris, who had advised him to commit the murder, and succeeded to the crown. Soon after came from Lithuania a young man, who affirmed that he was prince Demetrius; and, being supported by a Polish army, caused himself to be acknowledged. But his court being filled with foreigners and Catholics, he soon became an object of detestation to the Russians; when Zuski, a nobleman of distinction, having raised a rebellion, slew him, and placed himself upon the throne; but another impostor appearing, who called himself the true Demetrius, and claimed the crown as such, and marching towards Moscow with the troops of Sigismond king of Poland, the boyards, or Russian lords, dethroned Zuski; but, notwithstanding, refused to acknowledge the pretender, who fell by the hands of assassins. Other counterfeits, personating Demetrius, appeared upon the stage, and stained it with blood. Russia, immersed in barbarity at that time, presented only dreadful spectacles, to which polished nations paid little attention.

Revolutions  
in  
Russia.

But young Gustavus Adolphus showed himself worthy of attracting the attention of all Europe. Scarce was he seated on the throne, when he signalized himself against the Danes, who were enemies to his crown. Afterwards, taking advantage of the peace, of which he

Gustavus  
Adolphus.

stood in need, he applied himself to the duties of government, and remedied the public evils by judicious laws and a wise administration. In a war against the Russians, he conquered almost all Finland, which was secured to him by a treaty. The king of Poland treating him as an usurper, and refusing the peace which he always offered with arms in his hands, he marched victorious into Prussia, Livonia, and Lithuania; after which, a truce of six years, concluded with Sigismond in 1629, enabled him to turn his arms against Ferdinand II.

His  
motives  
for the war  
against  
Ferdinand.

To this step he was determined by several motives. The emperor had encouraged and succoured the king of Poland, dismissed the Swedish ambassadors with contempt, and formed a project for acquiring the dominion of the Baltic Sea. The tranquillity of Europe, the liberty of Germany, the interest of the Protestant religion, all contributed to furnish reasons or pretences for a war. Fewer motives were sufficient to inflame the heart of a hero.

1631.  
Treaty  
between  
France and  
Sweden.

Luckily his political talents were equal to his courage. He negotiated alliances with all the powers; and Cardinal Richelieu eagerly embraced an opportunity so correspondent to his own views. At the beginning of the year 1631, was concluded the famous treaty between the two crowns, by which Gustavus obliged himself to keep up an army of thirty-six thousand men, and Louis XIII. engaged to pay him twelve hundred thousand livres annually. This subsidy was very small for such an enterprise; but the king of Sweden's principal resources were in his own genius and talents.

Active, indefatigable, prudent, and intrepid, this prince was a perfect master of the art of war. He took his measures with consummate prudence, put them in execution with astonishing vigour, kept his troops in the strictest discipline, animated them by his example, captivated them by his generous bounty, and, in a word, inspired them with his own heroism. Officers and soldiers were eager to defy all dangers for his sake. He was then thirty-five years of age, and had all the experience of an old general. His army, which at first consisted of only fifteen thousand men, was soon increased to forty thousand; crowds flocking from every quarter to range themselves under his standards.

Great  
qualities  
of  
Gustavus.

Having made himself master of the isles of Ruden and Rugen, Pomerania and Mecklenburg, he took Francfort on the Oder by assault; secured Brandenburg by a treaty with the elector; prevailed on the elector of Saxony, who was attacked by the imperialists, to give him the command of his troops; attacked Tilli before Leipsic; and, with his Swedes, gained a victory so much the more glorious, as the Saxons were routed at the first onset. Three months after this battle, Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, and even the Palatinate, were in the power of the conqueror.

Success  
of  
his first  
campaign.

The Protestants had at first refused to join him, though, in a general assembly held at Leipsic, they had agreed to require, with their swords in their hands, the reestablishment of the liberties of the empire, and the abolition of the edict concerning the church lands. But the success of his arms, and the emperor's affected

The  
Protestants  
join  
Gustavus.

delays, had at last determined them to adopt the measure which was most to their advantage. He even did not neglect to excite the zeal for religion, which is always of such efficacious influence.

1634.  
Second  
campaign.

This campaign paved the way for new triumphs the following year. Count Tilli had again entered Franconia; but Gustavus drove him back as far as Bavaria, and, after taking Donawert, swam his army over the Lech, in his presence. In the defence of the passage fell Tilli, an illustrious man, but who had a short time before tarnished his glory, by delivering up Magdeburg to all the barbarities which an unbridled soldiery, destitute of honour, is capable of committing. Thirty thousand inhabitants lost their lives on that occasion, and the flames devoured what the sword could not destroy.

Walstein  
repulses  
the  
Swedes.

Walstein still remained to the emperor. Being restored to the command with unlimited power, for he insisted upon that condition, he joined the army in Bavaria; repulsed Gustavus, who attacked him in his intrenchments near Nuremberg; recovered Bohemia, which had been conquered by the Saxons; and invaded Saxony, where he took Leipsic. The king of Sweden flew to the assistance of the elector; but the battle of Lutzen, near Leipsic, put an end to the glorious career of the great Gustavus. He was slain in the battle, either by treachery, as was rumoured, or by the enemy; but Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, his lieutenant-general, gained a complete victory.

Battle  
of  
Lutzen.

He  
conquered  
the

Thus died a virtuous hero, who ought not to be confounded with the destroyers of mankind.

The book written by Grotius, on the *Right of War and Peace*, was found in his tent, and he had made it his ordinary study. Another conqueror would have detested this work, which defends the rights of nature against the injustice and cruelty of its oppressors. The blood spilt by Gustavus Adolphus is to be imputed to Ferdinand. He was succeeded by his daughter Christina, then only six years of age ; and the government was managed by the chancellor Oxenstiern.

doctrine  
of  
Grotius.

At Vienna and Madrid public rejoicings were made for an event, doubtless fortunate to the house of Austria, but which these very rejoicings turned to its shame. Philip IV. did not blush to be present at a burlesque piece, called, *The Death of the King of Sweden*. It is true, that, in all ages and nations, the populace have been guilty of similar excesses ; but they are not, on that account, less unbecoming in the better sort ; and can they be excused in a prince ? What idea of decency could men entertain at that time ?

Shameful  
rejoicings  
for  
the death  
of  
that prince.

The death of the king of Sweden, by introducing divisions, well nigh ruined the affairs of the Protestants, notwithstanding their victory, the elector of Saxony and the chancellor Oxenstiern, each claiming the superiority ; but at last it was determined, that the war should be continued till the perpetual establishment of the Germanic freedom and liberty of conscience ; that affairs should be under the direction of the chancellor ; and that none of the parties should enter into any treaty of accommodation, without the unanimous consent of the confederates. The elector of Saxony, singly, protested against

1633.  
Rivalship  
between  
the  
elector  
of Saxony  
and  
Oxenstiern.

a decision favourable to the Swedes, and Oxenstiern showed himself worthy of the general confidence, by restoring the conquests made by Gustavus in the Palatinate to the children of the unfortunate Frederic V. who was lately dead. He renewed the alliance with France, which was then disturbed by civil wars, between the king and his brother ; but Germany, much more unhappy, was a vast theatre of carnage.

1634.  
Conspiracy  
and death  
of  
Walstein.

The emperor irrecoverably lost his only remaining great general. Displeased with the imperious temper of Walstein, he again deprived him of the command ; upon which, that general entered into a conspiracy, when the emperor caused him to be assassinated by two colonels at Egra, and gave the command to the Archduke Ferdinand, king elect of Bohemia and Hungary. This revenge, whether the circumstances rendered it necessary or not, proves the weakness to which he found himself reduced. We imagine that we see Henry III. assassinating the duke of Guise, because he could not check his ambition.

The  
Swedes  
defeated  
at  
Nordlin-  
gen.

Meantime the Swedes felt the vicissitudes of war. The archduke having besieged Nordlingen in Suabia, Weimar came to the assistance of the place, and, attacking the Imperialists, who were greatly superior in number, lost the battle, with about sixteen thousand men. Fortune then changed sides. Richelieu, who never lost sight of the affairs of Germany, and had even instigated Walstein to rebel, perceived the necessity of succouring the Swedes, and engaged not only to continue the subsidies, but to send a body of troops ; in consequence of which,



the allies received a French garrison into Alsace ; Philipsburgh was ceded to France by Sweden ; and the cardinal de la Valette, son of the duke d'Epemon, arrived at the head of an army to join the duke of Weimar, commander in chief of the Protestants.

We may easily imagine the reproaches vented against Richelieu, on account of this war, by the herd of Catholics. He had taken great care, from the first, to stipulate with Gustavus, that the Catholic religion should receive no damage ; but few persons were capable of hearing reason in favour of such a piece of policy, while they saw things only in that light which alarmed their zeal. A Spanish cardinal, in full consistory, had accused Urban VIII. of betraying the cause of religion, because he did not publish a crusade in favour of Ferdinand.

The  
Catholics  
consider this  
war  
criminal.

In these conjunctures, the elector of Saxony, either from discontent or fear, concluded the treaty of Prague with the emperor. They settled between them the affair of the benefices, and determined the fate of the princes and states of Germany ; excluded the children of the Elector Palatine for ever from the amnesty, as well as all those who had any share in the former troubles of Bohemia ; and agreed that the empire should raise an army to drive out the Swedes and French. One of the articles bore, that the Protestants should continue forty years longer in possession of the benefices which they had enjoyed since 1552. This was at least, in some measure, cancelling the edict of restitution ; but Ferdinand's despotism still showed itself without disguise,

1635.  
Treaty  
of  
Prague.

The  
Protestants  
accede to  
it.

Germany was at first filled with clamours. Universal indignation was kindled, that two princes should arrogate to themselves so great authority over the whole Germanic body. But men's minds were calmed by degrees. The Protestants, except the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, acceded to the treaty of Prague; and thus France and Sweden were reduced almost to their own forces. Richelieu, in order to attach the duke of Weimar to the League, not only furnished him with troops and money, but made him a present of Alsace, which was to descend to the heirs of his body as a principality of the empire.

League  
of  
the dukes  
of  
Orleans  
and  
Lorraine.

It was about the time when the Swedes made their first campaigns against Ferdinand, that the duke of Orleans had raised the standard of rebellion. This volatile, weak, and restless prince, always guided by worthless favourites, but whom he constantly sacrificed when it suited his own convenience, was supported by Charles duke of Lorraine, whose sister he had privately married. We have seen the Marechal de Montmorenci fall a victim to the rebellion into which he had been drawn by Gaston; nor had the duke of Lorraine reason to applaud himself for the steps which he had taken. Having twice promised to abandon the rebellious prince, and twice broken his word, he lost the duchy of Bar, and even Nanci, in 1633.

Marriage  
of  
Gaston  
annulled.

The marriage of the duke of Orleans, which the university of Louvain maintained to be indissoluble, was declared null by that of Paris, and it was cancelled by the parliament, as contrary to the laws of the kingdom. In fact, the

king's consent, which is necessary in such cases, appeared the more indispensable, as Gaston was presumptive heir of the crown. The quarrel between the two brothers still subsisted, under some appearances of accommodation.

## CHAPTER III.

FRANCE AT WAR WITH THE WHOLE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA. REVOLUTIONS IN CATALONIA AND PORTUGAL.

Design  
against  
the  
house  
of  
Austria.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU, though involved in troubles, and surrounded by conspiracies, resolved upon an open war against the whole house of Austria; a hazardous undertaking, but well calculated for securing him in his high station. He made himself necessary by multiplying the difficulties of government. Besides, the glory of the state was connected with the interest of the minister, provided resources could be found equal to the greatness of the design.

Spain  
humbled  
by  
Holland.

Never were circumstances more favourable for an attack upon Spain. The war with Holland still continued, and the Spaniards sunk under the efforts of that small republic, whose naval forces had deprived them of Brazil, and the best acquisitions of the Portuguese in the East Indies. Nor was the prince of Orange, Frederic-Henry, who succeeded his brother Maurice in 1625, less successful by land. In 1632, the Flemish lords having entered into a conspiracy to erect their country into a republic, he took advantage of these troubles, made himself master of several places, particularly

Maestricht, and defeated Pappenheim, a celebrated general in the imperial service, who was afterwards slain at the battle of Lutzen. So greatly was the court of Spain humbled, that, though peace was offered to the Dutch on very honourable terms, the republic refused to treat.

Richelieu made a treaty with Holland, by which the partition of the Low Countries was settled beforehand, as if the conquest had been certain; after which he sent a herald to declare war against the cardinal Infant, the new governor of those provinces, on pretence of an attempt made by the Spaniards against the elector of Treves, who was an ally of France. But the finances were exhausted; the cardinal's household, which was more splendid than the king's, alone swallowed up four millions a year. There was no resource but in the woful expedient of money-edicts, contrary to the good of the state, and equally ruinous to the prince and people. A *Lit de Justice*, or bed of justice, was soon held, in which the parliament was obliged to register forty-two of these edicts at once, without examination, or even reading. Henry IV. and Sulli pursued very different measures.

1635.  
League  
with  
the Dutch.  
War  
against  
Spain.

Accordingly, the armies in Flanders and Germany mouldered away for want of provisions. The first campaign was every where unsuccessful, except in the Valteline, where the duke of Rohan maintained himself, with a few troops, against the Germans and Spaniards, while the *marechal* Crequi, with the dukes of Savoy and Parma, allies of the king, could make no progress in Italy. This ill success was in some

First  
campaign  
in  
Flanders.

measure owing to their misunderstanding. On the other side, Holland acted but faintly, from an apprehension of having France for its neighbour ; and the Flemings continued faithful to Spain, because their privileges were then respected, as they ought to have been before the troubles.

The  
Spaniards  
in the  
kingdom.  
1636.

This campaign was followed by another more unfortunate to the French nation. The cardinal Infant, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine and the celebrated John de Werth, penetrated into Picardy, passed the Somme, made himself master of Corbie, and spread terror in the capital. The Spaniards ravaged Burgundy, and invaded Guienne, but reaped no advantage from these successes. The little town of St Jean de Lone, in Burgundy, held out with so great bravery, that they raised the siege. The prince of Condé had raised that of Dole, in order to oppose the enemy. That town, which afterwards submitted to Louis XIV. almost the moment he appeared before its gates, held out against Condé three months. To conclude, the invasion of the Spaniards was rendered fruitless, both by their bad conduct, and the advantage which the French have in a defensive war, where the zeal and courage of the nation make amends for every other want.

Cabals  
against  
Richelieu.

The more misfortunes that befel the state, the more violent were the clamours against the minister, who was detested by the people on account of the taxes with which they were loaded, and exposed to a thousand dangers from the hatred of the great men, and the intrigues of the court. The duke of Orleans

and the count de Soissons, whom he had made general of the army in Picardy, formed a plot to cause him to be assassinated in the king's apartment; and the blow would infallibly have been struck, had the duke given the signal to the murderers; but he was withheld by remorse or fear, and these two princes privately withdrew soon after.

Father Caussin, a Jesuit, who, though possessed neither of genius nor prudence, yet by his office of confessor had a powerful influence over Louis XIII., was very near effecting what had been fruitlessly attempted by the ablest heads in the nation. By exasperating the mind of this superstitious penitent, representing the cardinal as the oppressor of the queen-mother, the tyrant of the kingdom, and, above all, the support of heretics, he encouraged him to get rid of that minister. But this awkwardly-contrived scheme was soon discovered, and ended in the banishment of Caussin. Richelieu, not without good reason, distrusted the Jesuits, to whom he ascribed some of the libels published against his person and ministry. He had been on the point of banishing them, upon account of a seditious book published by Santarelli, one of their fraternity; but they dissipated these storms by their address and credit.

Intrigues  
of  
Father  
Caussin.

Meantime the war continued, notwithstanding the efforts of Urban VIII. to reconcile the powers, and some insincere negotiations, carried on with more artifice than desire of peace. We shall take a short view of the principal events. The duke of Rohan lost the Valteline for want of supplies. But the count d'Har-court recovered the isles of St Margaret and

Sequel  
of  
the war.  
1637-9.

St Honorat on the coast of Provence, which had been taken by the Spaniards in 1635. The prince of Condé miscarried at the siege of Fontarabia, as he had done before Dole; and Richelieu revenged himself for that misfortune on the duke de la Valette, whom he hated. He was accused of not having succoured the prince; commissioners were appointed for his trial, at which the king presided in person when sentence was given; and the duke was condemned to be executed in effigy. Under a rod of iron, justice must infallibly lose her power.

1637.  
Death  
of  
Ferdinand  
II.  
Election  
of  
Ferdinand  
III.

Ferdinand II. died in 1637, after a reign of seventeen years. This emperor had created twenty-two princes, sixty counts, and one hundred and twenty barons of the empire, probably with a view to raise money by the sale of titles, or to purchase creatures. He was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III., who had been already elected king of the Romans; an election against which a protest had been entered by the count Palatine and the archbishop of Treves, because they had not been summoned to the diet. France and Sweden refused to acknowledge this emperor; and the ravages of war, though still so fatal to both parties, were continued without intermission.

Events  
of  
the war  
in  
Germany.

Though the Swedish army under the command of Bannier had gained a glorious victory at Wistock in Upper Saxony, they found themselves closely pressed by General Gallas. Weimar lost a battle, in which the duke of Rohan was killed by his side; but he afterwards gained eight successive victories in 1638. The decisive battle of Rheinfeld put into his hands



four generals; and one of them, John de Werth, was conducted in triumph to Paris. Weimar died next year, while his whole thoughts were taken up with his vast designs. The Swedes retook Pomerania, which they had lost, advanced as far as Prague, and fell upon Silesia. Germany was deluged with blood, and overspread with hideous ruin; every day its wounds bled afresh. Had Ferdinand foreseen the effects of his ambitious violence, would he ever have kindled this flame? And to warn him of the consequences, was not the example of Charles V. sufficient, not to mention a multitude of others?

Whatever successes Spain met with in this war, which was continued against her twenty-five years, no power lost more before its conclusion. A grand fleet, which Olivarez had equipped against Sweden, was destroyed on the coast of England by the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, who has rendered his name immortal. Soon after, the republic made the important conquest of Molacca in the East Indies, which it has kept ever since. Holland raised herself on the ruins of that vast monarchy, turning the faults of its government to her own advantage; and that government continued to provoke the subjects to rebellion.

The  
Dutch fleets  
defeat  
the  
Spanish.

As the weight of the public burdens fell almost solely on the Castillians, the other provinces, pleading their privileges, and refusing to contribute to the multiplied exigencies of the state, the count-duke d'Olivarez, who was equally fond of despotism with Richelieu, resolved to extort by force what it was necessary to have obtained by prudence, and sent positive

1640.  
Catalonia  
shakes  
off  
the Spanish  
yoke.

orders into Catalonia for levying troops and raising money. The Catalans sent deputies to the court, who spoke too boldly, and were imprisoned. Other violences committed in the province irritated that naturally untractable people, and even the sacred things were profaned and carried away. The bishop of Girona fulminated an excommunication against those who had been guilty of the profanation ; and this was, as it were, a signal of sedition. The city of Barcelona flew to arms, and the rebellion became general. The Catalans wanted to form a republic ; but being too weak to resist the forces of Philip IV., gave themselves to France in 1641.

Philip IV.  
loses  
Portugal.  
Duke  
of Braganza  
king.

The revolution in Portugal is still more extraordinary. The Portuguese, chagrined by their losses, humbled to the lowest degree of weakness, crushed under the Spanish yoke, and transported with national hatred, had long been eager to break their fetters ; when their discontent was carried to the highest pitch, by an order obliging all the nobility, under pain of confiscation of their fiefs, to take arms for the reduction of Catalonia. A conspiracy had been carried on with impenetrable secrecy, for three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose family had been unjustly deprived of the succession to the crown by Philip II. ; and the conspirators executed their design in a moment, when they sacrificed only two victims, Vasconcellos the minister, who oppressed his country, and his secretary. The timid Braganza, roused by the courage of his wife, who was a native of Spain, at last suffered himself to be crowned by the name of John IV. Lisbon, settled in tran-

quillity, gave itself up to rejoicing, and almost no resistance was made in the rest of the kingdom ; the Spaniards dissappeared, and Portugal only changed its master. This revolution is singular in its kind.

Philip, sunk in a disgraceful lethargy, was entirely ignorant of this strange piece of news, while it echoed through every corner of Europe ; but at last there was a necessity to acquaint him with the truth. *Sire*, said Olivarez, *the duke of Braganza has been unwise enough to cause himself to be elected king of Portugal ; you will gain by it a confiscation of twelve millions : to which the king replied, Let order be taken for it*, and continued his amusements.

Philip  
informed  
of  
this news.

Naples, emboldened by these examples, likewise thought of shaking off the yoke, and a conspiracy was formed to deliver up that kingdom to France ; but the plot was countermined, and did not take place.

Conspiracy  
at  
Naples.

Before Philip lost Catalonia and Portugal, the honour of the French arms had been restored by two glorious expeditions. The count d'Harcourt, after defeating the marquis de Leganez near Casal, hastened to the siege of Turin, where prince Thomas of Savoy, already master of the town, was attacking the citadel. But Harcourt was himself besieged in his camp by Leganez, and, though obliged to struggle with a famine for two-and-twenty days, carried his point, notwithstanding so many obstacles. When John de Werth heard of this extraordinary exploit, he exclaimed, in admiration, *I had rather be general Harcourt than emperor*. On the other side, three marechals of France took Arras, which, according to an old pro-

Turin  
taken by  
the count  
d'Harcourt.

verb, was said to be impregnable ; and the conquest was made more illustrious by four battles which the cardinal Infant fought for its relief.

Vienna  
saved by  
Piccolomini.

The emperor was likewise very near losing his capital ; to besiege which, the French and Swedish army, reinforced in Germany by the troops of Hesse, Brunswic, and Lunenburg, was on its march ; and Vienna must necessarily have fallen, had not the enterprise been rendered abortive, by the skilful operations of Piccolomini.

Fruitless  
nego:  
ciations.

It would be equally superfluous and tiresome to enter into the particulars of a war so complicated, and carried on with such obstinacy ; in which the strength of all the powers was exhausted, even by their victories as well as their defeats. Peace, which is always desirable, became absolutely necessary, and still it was impossible to bring it to a conclusion. Each of the belligerent powers aimed at its particular advantage, which was incompatible with that of its allies. None of them was reduced so far as to accept shameful conditions. The negotiations were embroiled, and broken off by a thousand artifices. Cardinal Richelieu, especially, being desirous of prolonging the war, artfully eluded the proposals, though he affected a love of peace. He dreaded that Sweden would desert the alliance, and treat separately, because she might turn it to her advantage. But a disagreeable event dispelled his fears, and served his political purposes.

The  
alliance  
renewed  
between

Bannier died after an unsuccessful attempt against Ratisbon, where a diet was held which favoured the interests of the emperor ; and his

death weakening the Swedes, they renewed the alliance till the general peace should be concluded, the preliminaries of which were signed at Hamburg. It was determined that the treaty should be carried on at Munster for France, and at Osnaburg for Sweden; so that the articles agreed upon in one of these cities, should be thought equally consented to in the other. Such were the preparatory steps for the peace of Westphalia, which was yet to be purchased by several years of carnage.

France and  
Sweden.  
1641.

Torstenon, the worthy successor of Banner, met with the greatest success from the time that he was put at the head of the army in 1642. He took Leipsic, after cutting in pieces the imperial and Saxon troops; and this good fortune inspired Sweden with new ardour for the war.

Torstenon,  
a  
Swedish  
general.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DEATH OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU AND LOUIS XIII.

WE are now drawing near to the end of the reign of Louis XIII., or rather of his minister, which I shall make the subject of this chapter, referring other matters to a more convenient place.

Richelieu  
detested.

Richelieu's authority met with universal submission ; but he was accused by the whole nation of injustice and tyranny. He crushed the small as well as the great, and took the most odious and pernicious methods for raising money ; of which we may judge, by his establishing four hundred offices of attorneys, which necessarily increased the ruinous abuses of chicanery. He, in a manner, stifled the voice of the parliament, whose remonstrances might be of great utility, provided they did not pass the proper bounds. By a declaration published in a bed of justice, that court was ordered to register all edicts concerning the affairs of government without deliberation ; and as to those concerning the revenue, they were to be registered on the order of the king, after hearing

their representations. That minister disposed of every thing according to his own pleasure. He struck off the heads of the first men in the state, by arbitrary sentences ; while he heightened the lustre of the crown in the eyes of foreign nations, and made it too formidable at home. He despised the complaints of the people, whom he rendered every day more unhappy. Under such a government, the factious incessantly breathed the spirit of rebellion.

The count de Soissons had made his escape from the court in 1636, and taken refuge in Sedan ; where, uniting with the dukes of Bouillon and Guise, and concluding a treaty with Spain, he raised an army and began a civil war, and, at the battle of Marfée, defeated the marechal de Chatillon, who had acquired so great glory by the taking of Arras. Had not the young prince been slain in the engagement, his victory might have been followed by important consequences. The duke de Bouillon, sovereign of Sedan, speedily entered into a negotiation, but preserved the views and desires of a rebel.

Rebellion  
of  
the count de  
Soissons.

Scarce was the storm dispelled, when another arose. The king could not live without a favourite. His gloomy temper found relief in those particular intimacies where a weak mind takes a timid revenge for the constraint which it labours under elsewhere. The minister, who was perpetually in danger, had succeeded in turning the king's favour upon young Cinqmars, son of the marechal d'Effiat ; hoping from him a return of gratitude, and, above all, flattering himself with the hopes of governing him. But he judged improperly of a courtier.

1642.  
He gives the  
king  
Cinqmars  
for  
a favourite.

Cinqmars  
conspires the  
minister's  
destruction.

Cinqmars, who was promoted to the post of master of the horse, disgusted with the king, and more jealous of the minister's authority, resolved upon the ruin of Richelieu; and, in order to effect it, showed the utmost complaisance for the inclinations and humours of Louis, with whom he was not before afraid to enter into frequent quarrels. It was no difficult matter for him to gain over the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon to his seditious projects. A treaty was concluded with Spain in the name of the former, for introducing the Spaniards into the kingdom, in order to change the face of the government.

No  
doubt  
entertained  
of  
his success.

The greatest stress of the war had been turned upon Rousillon; the reunion of which province to the crown was an enterprise highly worthy of the ministry. Louis commanded in person, and was more than ever captivated with his favourite. Richelieu's fall was determined, and in all appearance so certain, that it was publicly spoken of as not far distant. Sick, and a prey to disquiet, he languished at Tarascona in expectation of his utter ruin; when, by a singular piece of good fortune, discovering the treaty with Spain, he gave information of it to the king. That prince hesitated, and was at a loss what to believe, but at last opened his eyes. Cinqmars was arrested, as was likewise Bouillon, who had imprudently been intrusted with an army at Casal, where he commanded. Their confidant de Thou, son of the celebrated historian, could not escape vengeance. Richelieu triumphed over his enemies, and caused their trial to be hurried on.



The master of the horse and de Thou were tried at Lyons, under the eye, and agreeably to the wishes, of the cardinal. Though their crimes were far from being equal, both were condemned to the same punishment, and lost their heads. The second was only guilty of concealing the plot, which he disapproved. 'I should have passed for a calumniator,' said he, 'had I accused the king's brother, and persons of the first quality, without proofs sufficient for their conviction.' But a law of Louis XI. was quoted against him, which, from its excessive severity, had fallen into so total oblivion, that even the magistrates were unacquainted with it, and it was the minister who pointed it out to the chancellor.

Trial  
of  
Cinqmars  
and  
de Thou.

The duke of Bouillon purchased his pardon by giving up the principality of Sedan, and afterwards obtained lands to a considerable amount in exchange. As to the weak Gaston, duke of Orleans, who led his friends to the scaffold, he had furnished proofs to convict the others of their guilt, and submitted to live in a private station.

Gaston  
and  
the duke  
de Bouillon  
punished.

It is related, that Louis XIII., after his return to Paris, looking at his watch on the day when his old favourite was to suffer, said, *Within an hour, the great man will pass his time disagreeably.* The cardinal at least veiled his passions with an air of grandeur. After the execution, he wrote a letter to the king in the following words: *Sire, your enemies are dead, and your arms are in Perpignan.* That important town had been taken from the Spaniards.

Expressions  
of the  
king and the  
minister.

Richelieu drew near the grave; but his pride and ambition were proof against decay.

Death  
of  
Richelieu.

Though worn out with disease, he came to court, carried part of the way on the shoulders of his guards, in a machine covered with damask. He imagined that he should survive the monarch, and was taking measures for securing the regency. Vain ideas! Death surprised him at the age of fifty-seven. It was impossible for any man to believe his protestation on his deathbed, that, during his whole ministry, he had nothing in view but the good of religion and the state. Louis XIII. expired the year following. Mary Medici, his mother, had died a little before at Cologne, in exile and misery.

Death  
of  
Louis XIII.  
1643.

Misfortunes  
attendant  
on  
ambition.

‘Cardinal Richelieu,’ says Voltaire, ‘was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was most hated; and, though labouring under a bad state of health, was obliged to support an immense load with hands bathed in blood.’ If he did support it under so many vexations, alarms, and dangers, the reason is, that the passion for dominion is equally bold and insatiable; that, to the ambitious man, the greatest misfortune is the loss of favour; that, accustomed to confusion and bustle, he considers tranquillity of mind as a kind of death. When once engaged in that career, the sweets of private life are looked upon as insipid and tiresome. To how many passions is the human heart a slave! Richelieu, with so great a portion of genius and courage, would have deserved the highest encomiums, had he made the happiness of the monarchy the sole end of his government.

I reserve, to another chapter, some particular observations on government, literature, and

religion. But we must first turn our attention upon England, where the unfortunate reign of Charles I., though unconnected with the general system, from its little influence on the affairs of Europe, yet is no less worthy of our particular study.

## CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF CHARLES I. IN ENGLAND, TILL THE WAR  
WITH THE PARLIAMENT.

General idea  
of  
this reign.

WE now come to a remarkable epoch in the English history, when liberty struck deep roots, when not only the usurpations, but the just prerogatives of the crown, were disputed and wrested from it. Horrid scenes of violence served as a prelude to the harmony of a legal constitution; the whole government seemed not only thrown into confusion, but annihilated; yet order sprung from this chaos. In a word, frenzy and fanaticism led, through paths flowing with blood, to a revolution, which the English celebrate as the source and present foundation of their happiness. When we reflect upon the causes, we shall be less surprised at the effects,

The seeds  
of  
the troubles  
sown  
by James I.

When James I. imprudently advanced the maxims of absolute authority, without having the strength necessary to support it, he only irritated the people, excited men of warm tempers to fatal disputes, and exposed the crown to the attacks of the parliament. Men's minds

were set to work ; they acquired new lights, and knowledge sufficient to discern that the royal prerogative had its limits ; but they were too much heated not to overleap those of the national liberty. From the shock of those different interests, from those overstrained opinions necessarily issued devouring flames.

On one side, the king was powerful in himself ; but, on the other, the nation furnished the subsidies, without which the government could not act.

Charles I., though endowed with all the qualities of an amiable and virtuous prince, yet, from his desire to put in practice the principles of his father, which were not contested under the Tudors, plunged from one abyss to another. So early as the second year of his reign, 1626, the commons ventured to impeach Buckingham, the favourite minister, who, though too worthless, enjoyed the confidence of the son as well as of the father, and had never been attacked while the kings continued absolute. Charles forbid the impeachment, and demanded a speedy subsidy ; giving them to understand, that, in case of a refusal, he could very easily abolish parliaments, as had been done by so many other monarchs.

Charles  
quarrels  
with  
the  
parliament.

This indiscreet threat was suddenly followed by a stroke of arbitrary power. Two members of parliament were put in prison ; but the commons refused to deliberate till they should be enlarged. Scarce was that done, when the disputes against the rights of the crown were renewed. The parliament was dissolved, and taxes were levied by force ; the murmurs increased, and the royal authority was more

Violent  
measures  
weakly  
supported.

weakened ; the necessary consequence of a false system, which makes men advance with obstinacy, and recede with timidity.

1628.  
Second  
parliament.  
The  
commons  
more bold.

The war undertaken against France, in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, made it necessary to convoke the parliament, where the same causes produced the same effects. The spirit of liberty even showed itself more boldly. The following expression was used by a member of the house of commons : ‘ The man who suffers himself to be robbed of his property, against his consent, his liberties, and the laws of the kingdom, does not show himself a good subject, but a slave.’ The famous *Petition of Right* was drawn up by the lower house, requiring that no person may be forced to any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or other burden of the like nature, without the consent of parliament ; that no man may be sued, imprisoned, or molested, in case of refusal ; in a word, that no denizen may be arrested or detained by order of the king. In vain did the peers endeavour to make some modifications in this bill. The commons were untractable, and the king gave way, in order to obtain supplies.

Petition  
of  
Right.

Prohibition  
to pay  
an  
established  
tax.

Buckingham’s murder did not put an end to the fermentation ; it was even more heated by the taking of Rochelle. The parliament again met in 1629, after its prorogation, and prohibited paying to the crown the duty of *tonnage and poundage*, on the import and export of merchandise ; a duty, which, from the time of Henry IV., about the middle of the fifteenth century, had uniformly been levied at the beginning of every reign, before the parliament had granted it to the new king.

Charles now dissolved this turbulent assembly, and made peace with France and Spain, that he might not any longer have occasion for money. At the same time he chose an excellent minister in Wentworth, earl of Strafford, formerly a zealous defender of liberty in the house of commons.

The king  
dissolves  
the  
parliament.

All the king's economy could not supply the want of subsidies. It was necessary to have recourse to the old expedients. To the duty of tonnage and poundage, and the ordinary methods of prerogative, was added, a tax for the shipping, which amounted to no more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and was employed for a purpose evidently useful; yet Hampden, a spirited patriot, refused to pay it; upon which he was sued, and the cause was pleaded twelve days. His counsel insisted that the tax of *ship-money* was an infringement on the rights of the nation; and though he was cast, a trial of this kind taught the people but too well to struggle against the crown. Some new acts of despotism, or which were looked upon as such, the more exasperated men's minds, as the court showed a resolution to call no more parliaments.

Ship-  
money.  
Hampden.

Notwithstanding these seeds of discord, Charles might have kept his subjects in dependence, had he not provoked the rage of fanaticism. The sect of the Puritans in England, like that of the Presbyterians in Scotland, under pretext of following the pure Gospel, was capable of every extravagance, of every excess to which the enthusiasm of imaginary perfection, or the delirium of unreal virtues, can hurry men of a gloomy and violent temper. The

Fanaticism  
of the  
Puritans.

slightest idea of a hierarchy, a shadow of Popery, an indifferent ceremony of the Romish worship, were the abomination, the work of Satan, the reign of Antichrist; and, in their frantic ecstasies, they made it a duty to sacrifice every thing to the cause of God, that is, to their own madness.

Charles,  
a  
bigotted  
theologian.

On the other side, the king was a theologian, as well as his father, and too much wedded to his own systems not to startle the sectaries. He wanted to clothe the external worship with ceremonies, its too great simplicity being as capable of producing inconveniences as superstition itself; for in every thing extremes approach each other. He supported the authority of Episcopacy; which he thought, upon good grounds, very friendly to the crown, either because the bishops depend upon the king, or their principles inculcate obedience. Besides, he gave himself up to the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of pure and rigid morals; but a violent zealot, enterprising, audacious and obstinate, and consequently proper to kindle a flame in critical conjunctures, when a single spark was sufficient to throw the whole kingdom into combustion.

The king  
desirous to  
establish  
ceremonies  
in  
Scotland.

Laud had already established in England a number of ceremonies borrowed from the Romish church, and exercised his despotic power as primate with very little prudence; while the king, with still less, made an attempt to subject Scotland to the discipline and liturgy of the church of England; and for that purpose sent down the new statutes, with an order to put them in execution. But the dean of Edinburgh beginning the service in a surplice, according to



the prescribed form, the people immediately cried out, A Pope! an Antichrist! stone him! A bench was thrown at the bishop, who endeavoured to appease the tumult, and the flame overspread the whole kingdom of Scotland.

The councils of the nation assembled in the capital, took an oath to support their faith against Popery, and to stand by one another for the maintenance of religion and the royal authority. Fanaticism always puts on the mask of fidelity to the sovereign. This league, which was called the *Covenant*, exceeded all others of the kind in the violence by which it was characterized. The king offered to suspend the use of the liturgy, provided the Scots would retract their covenant; but they replied, that they would sooner renounce their baptism; they abolished the liturgy and Episcopacy in a general assembly, made preparations for a civil war, and fortified Leith; while their courage was animated by a prophetess, and the women of quality devoutly worked on the fortifications with the labourers.

1638.  
The Solemn  
League  
and  
Covenant.

Charles was now reduced to the hard necessity of fighting against his subjects. By his economy he was master of a considerable sum, and the queen prevailed upon the Catholics to raise a contribution. He therefore marched against the rebels, but was disarmed by an appearance of submission. His weakness dictated a treaty, the only fruit of which was increasing the insolence of his enemies. Scarcely had they ceased to dread him, when they renewed their attempts, and the civil war again became unavoidable.

Charles  
makes war  
against  
them.

Calls a  
parliament,  
and  
dissolves it.

It being impossible to raise any more money, Charles at last assembled a parliament, after an interval of nine years. But he found it insensible to his wants, violent against his prerogative, deaf to the most equitable requisitions, and dissolved it according to custom. With the generous assistance of Laud, Strafford, and other noblemen, he raised an army, but could not hinder the Scots from penetrating into England, and taking Newcastle.

1640.  
Mistaken  
conduct  
of  
that prince.

As the parliamentary system, far from losing ground, was every day acquiring new strength, the most prudent method would have been to come to an accommodation with Scotland, to call no more parliaments, to conciliate men's minds, and to take such measures, whether moderate or vigorous, as would give a rational prospect of success; but unhappily the king was incapable of keeping a medium in a career beset with precipices. His first steps were violent and inconsiderate, and his after-conduct equally languid and spiritless. First irritating, and immediately yielding, by his concessions he made his authority contemptible, as by his provocations he rendered it odious.

Fifth  
parliament.  
The  
commons  
give law.

The dissolution of four parliaments was an unlucky prognostic, and he summoned a fifth, without foreseeing that he was to fall its victim. This dreadful assembly, where the republican spirit was invigorated by the fanaticism of the Puritans, began with a bold and decisive stroke. The commons impeached Laud and Strafford of high treason; and the peers, whose zeal for the crown was already cooled, caused them to be arrested. Ship-money was abolish-

ed, the acts of the government were censured, and the Catholics treated with the greatest severity. The indiscreet zeal of the queen, the priests, the Jesuits, and a nuncio from the pope, whom she kept at the court, furnished matter for complaints and persecution. Charles softened; and so great advantage was taken of his weakness, that he was forced to consent that the parliament should be called every three years, and that, when once assembled, it should neither be dissolved nor prorogued, for the space of fifteen days, without the consent of the two houses.

The greatest fault committed by the king was the sacrificing his minister. Strafford, after a long trial, was condemned, under pretext of some arbitrary acts, which were sufficiently justified by ancient custom, and the necessity of the conjunctures. The palace was beset by rioters, to force the king to sign the warrant. The virtuous Strafford exhorted him, by letter, to make that sacrifice, and Charles permitted the execution of the sentence, by which he exposed his own head. Laud was not executed till three years after. His only crimes were an attachment to the prejudices of his profession, and following them with a blind and violent zeal, but far inferior to that of the Puritans.

Trial of  
earl  
Strafford.

So signal a victory over the royal authority rapidly brought on other enterprises; to secure the success of which, a bill was passed, declaring that the parliament could not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by the consent of the two houses; and thus it became master of the king. The high commission and star-

The  
parliament  
carries  
every thing  
before it.

chamber were abolished ; two courts contrary to liberty, but useful to the crown.

Dismisses  
and  
rewards  
the Scotch  
army.

The Scotch army, which was still on foot, made the factious party much more formidable, and therefore maintained at the expense of England ; but at last it was dismissed, with a present of three hundred thousand pounds granted by the parliament. The behaviour of the Scots is even commended in the act of pacification, as *tending to the honour and advantage of his Majesty*. What an insult on the king ! and yet these were only the first essays of parliamentary audacity.

The Irish  
fanatical  
and  
seditious.

By a deplorable fatality, the flame spread to Ireland in its turn, where the civil wars were rekindled. James I. had introduced into it the police and laws of England ; and the earl of Strafford had governed with such prudence, that, immediately after emerging from barbarity, agriculture, industry, and navigation grew to a flourishing state. But the reformation of prejudices and manners advanced much more slowly. The Irish, being ignorant, superstitious, and enthusiastic Papists, submitted with reluctance to the English, whose religion they detested. To shake off the yoke of heretics, was the object of their wishes ; and some bold chiefs, taking advantage of the troubles of the monarchy, formed a plot similar to that of St Bartholomew in France. Forty thousand Protestants were massacred ; even the women and children disputing with the men the inhuman pleasure, or, as they imagined it, the merit of shedding the blood of the victims. Dublin was upon the point of falling into the hands of

They  
massacre  
the  
Protestants.

those rebels, who, to varnish their crime, declared, that they were authorized by the king and queen to take up arms, and produced a forged commission, with the great seal affixed, which they took from a patent, not blushing to unite the blackest imposture with this boasted zeal for the Catholic religion.

Charles was in Scotland, endeavouring to appease the troubles, when he received the news of the massacre, and immediately demanded assistance against the Irish rebels; but the Scotch parliament, notwithstanding the national hatred against the Catholics, granted but a very small matter; and that of England, catching at an offer which he imprudently made them, to commit the management of that war to their prudence and care, levied money and collected arms under pretence of succouring him, but really with a design to turn them against him. While he was taking measures to chastise the rebels, he was publicly accused of being the author of the insurrection. The Puritans redoubled their virulent clamours. The commons published a *remonstrance on the state of the kingdom*, which is only a violent satire on the king's whole conduct. They declare the custom of pressing men for the service an infringement on the public liberty, and accuse the bishops of high treason; because, being exposed to the insults of the populace, they had withdrawn from the house of peers, after protesting against every thing that should be done in their absence. These proceedings showed a formed design either to overturn the throne, or reduce the regal power to a mere phantom.

The  
king  
demands  
assistance  
from  
the  
parliament.

## CHAPTER VI.

## CIVIL WAR AGAINST CHARLES I. HE IS BEHEADED.

1642. The king goes in person to impeach five members of parliament. IT would have been difficult for a strong and skilful hand to hold the helm in so severe a storm ; but Charles seemed to throw himself upon the rocks. Being justly provoked at the conduct of the commons, he wished to make an example, but could not act with the dignity of a king. He went in person to the lower house to impeach \* five members. This extraordinary resolution had, however, transpired, and they were withdrawn. He then went to Guildhall, without his guards, and required that they might not be screened from a prosecution purely legal. But the people were inflamed ; all the streets through which he passed echoed with seditious clamours ; and the five impeached members were conducted to the house in a kind of triumph. A general insurrection was prognosticated by *petitions* addressed to the parliament, which the commons received from the porters, the women, and even the beggars.

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\* The king went to seize the five members.

Charles quitted London, where he was no longer in safety. The queen was insulted by the fanatics, and both sides turned their thoughts on a war, which was now unavoidable.

The commons gave the signal for it, by a step which was entirely unprecedented. Being desirous of disarming the king, under pretence that plots had been formed by the Papists, they drew up a bill, naming the governors and lieutenants of the fortified places, and making them responsible for their conduct to the parliament alone. A deputation was sent to the king; he was pressed, he was threatened; but nothing could make him give his consent to this bill. The military commands were then settled, and the governors obliged to obey *the orders of his Majesty, signified by the two houses*. The king's name, as may be easily judged, was to serve merely for a cover to the orders of the lower house.

The  
parliament  
disposes  
of  
the military  
posts.

Manifestoes were a prelude to the civil war; and Charles caused those of his enemies to be distributed with his own; so much did he reckon upon the evident justice of his cause. On the contrary, the parliament used its utmost endeavours to suppress those of Charles; so greatly did that body dread the strength of argument and affecting moderation used by the king. In one of the last of these papers, the English constitution is represented as a mixture of three governments; the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, tempered the one by the other. This is a language which had never been held by the court, and an opinion which Charles would not have admitted at the beginning of his reign.

Manifestoes  
before  
the  
civil war.

Strength  
of  
the parties.

Though hitherto inconsiderate and weak, from this time he acted with vigour and resolution. Misfortune called forth his virtues. Almost all the nobility, the principal gentlemen, the members of the church of England, and the Catholics, embraced his party. The Parliamentarians had on their side most part of the great towns and the Puritans. They were masters of the seaports, the fleet, and the revenue. Religion animated the royalists, but acted more powerfully on the gloomy enthusiasts, who might therefore promise themselves the victory.

Events  
of  
the war.

However, the first hostilities turned to the advantage of the king. His nephew, prince Rupert, son of the elector palatine, seconded him from the beginning of the war, like a brave and able general. The rebels were defeated in several engagements; Bristol was taken; siege was laid to Gloucester; and the terror spread even to London. But Gloucester held out with invincible obstinacy; and the parliament having raised fourteen thousand men, sent them to the relief of that important place, under the command of their general the earl of Essex; when Charles, after being obliged to raise the siege, lost the battle of Newbury. In this engagement fell his minister, the viscount Falkland, at the age of thirty-four; a man of superior merit, equally respectable for his virtues, his abilities, and knowledge. He is believed to have been author of part of the king's manifestoes or declarations.

The  
Scots  
declare for

To complete his misfortunes, the Scots declared against him, and formed a league with the parliament of England; by which both sides



engaged to persecute Popery to the utmost, the parliament.  
 prelacy, and profane ceremonies, and to reform  
 the two kingdoms according to the word of  
 God, and on the model of the purest churches.  
 Such was the strength of fanaticism, that pious  
 notions always served as motives for those abo-  
 minable confederacies. An army of more than  
 twenty thousand Scots having taken the field,  
 the king concluded a truce with Ireland, and  
 withdrew part of his troops, which furnished  
 new matter of accusation; his enemies re-  
 proaching him with having spared rebellious  
 Catholics. Truce with  
 Ireland.

He next summoned to Oxford those mem- 1644.  
 bers of the parliament who were favourable Parliament  
 to his cause, flattering himself that the new of  
 parliament would balance the authority of Oxford.  
 the old; but this assembly, which far exceeded the  
 other in the number of peers, and fell much  
 short of it in the house of commons, only pro-  
 cured him some pecuniary assistance: that of  
 Westminster, though declared to have forfeit-  
 ed its legal authority, every moment increased  
 the power by which it was rendered so formid-  
 able.

Oliver Cromwell, a man of a most dangerous  
 character, began to play an important part in  
 that house. He distinguished himself in the  
 sect of the Independents, which was confounded  
 in the multitude of the Puritans, whom it ex-  
 ceeded in fanaticism and boldness, in the same  
 manner as the sixteen surpassed the grand league  
 in France. Pretending to inspiration, and in-  
 toxicated with the notion of a perfect equality  
 among mankind; not content with proscribing  
 priests, prelates, and religious ceremonies; the  
 The  
 Independ-  
 ents.  
 Cromwell.

Independents wanted to destroy the kingly power, of which the other Puritans only desired to restrain the prerogative. Cromwell, at once a hypocrite and enthusiast, intrepid and subtle, impetuous and prudent, capable of acting the prophet, and commanding an army or ruling a state, who was the principal cause of the victory at Marston-moor gained over prince Rupert, soon became master of the parliament and the kingdom.

The  
self-denying  
ordinance.

He complained of the slow proceedings of his general, the earl of Manchester. Several preachers declaimed against the corruption of the chiefs. Cromwell and his friends insisted, in parliament, on the necessity of a reformation; and a *self-denying* ordinance, the title which was given to it, was enacted, by which the members of parliament, except a very small number, were excluded from all employments, civil and military; in consequence of which, Manchester, Essex, and the other noblemen, resigned their commissions. Sir Thomas Fairfax being named general, asked leave to make use of Cromwell's assistance; who, having taken care not to apply the *self-denial* to his own person, by this means got the command in the name of another; as Fairfax, who, though a man of integrity, had but a weak understanding, always suffered himself to be duped by his artifices.

1645.  
Reformation  
of  
the army.  
Charles  
defeated  
at  
Naseby.

From that time, the army was subjected to more rigid discipline, breathing only the fervour of presbyterianism and the rage of battle; knowing no pleasures but prayer and military duty; and the more formidable on that account, as the royalists, who derided their bigot-

ry, gave themselves up to pernicious licentiousness. Prince Rupert, whose impetuous courage had already drawn him into several errors, determined the king to come to a battle, without waiting for a reinforcement, which was to join him in a short time; and the rebels gained a decisive victory at Naseby, near Oxford; where the king's baggage and his coffer falling into their hands, they found copies of his letters to the queen; and the parliament, which had been long accustomed not to blush at any thing, had the insolence to publish them. This courageous princess, worthy of being daughter to Henry IV. had retired into France, after having twice brought her husband succours from Holland, through a thousand dangers. The commons had impeached her of treason. At the sight of such monstrous excesses, we fancy ourselves in an age of barbarism: but such is the case in civil wars, especially when mixed with fanaticism!

After the battle of Naseby, Charles underwent an uninterrupted succession of misfortunes of every kind. Upon the point of being besieged in Oxford, he put himself into the hands of the Scots, who were then laying siege to Newark; when, though they received him with appearances of respect, they extorted from him orders to the governors for surrendering the strong places, and soon after sold him to the English parliament for four hundred thousand pounds sterling; an infamous bargain, after which we ought not to be surprised at any deed of horror.

The parliament, having the king in their hands, was all-powerful. These pretended de-

Sold  
by  
the Scots.

1647.  
The army

enslaves  
the  
parliament.

fenders of liberty were become the oppressors of the nation and the laws, and carried their despotism infinitely beyond what they had so grievously reproached in the sovereign. The army resolving to destroy this odious tyranny, in order to set up one of their own, carried off Charles, marched to London, entered the city, gave law, and oppressed the parliament.

Cromwell  
projects  
the  
death of the  
king.

But in the midst of the army broke out the faction of the *Levellers*, who rose against their officers, because the Holy Spirit puts all the elect upon a perfect equality. Cromwell having repressed those fanatics by a stroke of genius and vigour, now meditated the most horrid designs against regal majesty.

That  
prince's  
offers  
rejected.

Charles having made his escape into the Isle of Wight, where he was basely arrested by the governor, began a negotiation with the parliament, in which necessity reduced him to take the most humiliating steps; but nothing could soften the rebels. In vain did he offer to give up the management of the troops, and the nomination to the great offices, provided these rights should revert to the crown after his demise. In vain did he add new concessions, and even acknowledge that the parliament had taken up arms in its just defence. He was required to deliver up his adherents as criminals, consent to the abolition of episcopacy, and sacrifice his religious principles, which were deeply rooted in his heart. Conscience, which in him prevailed over the interest of the crown, made him inflexible on that point; and the parliament would not relax on a single article.

The Scots  
attempt

While the negotiation was on foot, the civil war broke out afresh. The Scots took arms in

favour of a prince whom they had shamefully betrayed, and several bodies of English troops gave proofs of their zeal ; but Cromwell invaded Scotland, and rapidly conquered all before him ; Fairfax stormed Colchester, after a vigorous resistance ; and in a very short time the royal party was dispersed and entirely overthrown. To crown such a series of victories and crimes, nothing was wanting but to command the execution of the sovereign.

to  
defend him,  
and  
vanquished.

While he was left in the power of the parliament, the army dreaded a reconciliation to their disadvantage ; and, being resolved to commit the parricide, seized the person of Charles, and removed him from the Isle of Wight to a fortress, whence he was afterwards brought to Windsor. But this precaution was not sufficient. The parliament complained, opposed the army, and showed themselves less averse from an accommodation ; when Pride, who, from being a drayman, had risen to the rank of colonel, beset the house of commons with a body of troops, and arrested forty-one of the members ; at the same time, above one hundred and sixteen others were excluded, because they were suspected by the Independents, who now remained absolute masters, and began the trial.

Exclusion  
of  
members.

The house of commons, thus regulated, declared the king guilty of high treason, for having made war against the parliament, and created a court of justice, with power to judge him. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, were in the number of the judges. The peers having thrown out this horrid bill, the lower house passed a vote, that *the people is the source of all lawful authority ; and*

1649.  
Trial  
of  
Charles I.

*consequently the commons, chosen by the people whom they represent, are invested with the supreme authority of the nation ; and all their determinations have the force of law, without the consent of the king and the peers ; as if the king and the peers, in conjunction with the commons, did not make up that constitution which they held so dear, and had used as a pretext for their rebellion ; or a small number of factious men, who had excluded the loyal members, were the house of commons.*

1649.  
The king  
condemned  
and  
executed.

Charles I., was conducted by colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, before this tribunal of villains ; spoke to them like a good king ; refused to answer the indictment ; protested that he acknowledged no judges among his subjects ; and yet offered to demonstrate the justice of his cause, if invited to it in a proper manner. He was brought before them three times, and still maintained his firmness. Without paying any respect to the solicitations of Scotland, France, and Holland, nor to the generous conduct of four noblemen, who represented, that, as they enjoyed the king's confidence, the punishments of the faults imputed to him ought to fall upon their heads ; in contempt of all the rights of political society, they condemned to death the king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he was executed on a scaffold before his own palace. If the rebels triumphed, at least the body of the people opened their eyes in consternation, felt the pangs of remorse, and looked with horror on a crime not to be paralleled in the history of any age or nation.

An  
important

I shall relate its consequence in the epoch of Louis XIV. Let sovereigns and subjects

reflect with care on the reign of Charles I. The first will learn, that there are critical circumstances when authority is weakened by striving to extend it ; when too earnest attempts to enforce rigorous maxims, give life and strength to principles directly opposite ; and when the false steps of government may draw on its ruin. The others will see, that if the abuse of authority be dangerous, rebellion against authority is more so ; that seditious liberty is worse than the transitory despotism of a monarch ; that, in modern states, the laws and opinion of the public are a powerful barrier against the excesses of tyranny ; and above all, that there are no crimes so horrid, to which men will not be led by fanaticism, while it clothes itself with the name and word of God, to cancel every principle, sentiment, and duty. lesson to kings and people.

I have anticipated the transactions of some years, in the epoch of Louis XIV., in order to give the reign of Charles in one view ; but this is a less inconvenience than it would have been to interrupt a narration, all the circumstances of which are connected with one another.

## CHAPTER VII.

OBSERVATIONS ON GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.  
RELIGION AND THE CHURCH. SCIENCES AND  
POLITE LITERATURE.

## I.

PROGRESS OF MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENT, PARTI-  
CULARLY IN FRANCE.

The  
progress of  
govern-  
ments.

It is an object highly worthy of curiosity to go back to the origin of governments, and to trace their variations and progress ; to see, for example, petty, miserable, and oppressed states become happy and powerful republics ; populous and warlike nations, formerly jealous of unbounded liberty, peaceably obeying the laws of a monarch ; and monarchies, where absolute power seemed established, changed to a mixed constitution, where the powers are balanced by each other. In the course of the different ages we have remarked the most important changes. In this place, it will be proper to consider the result, and form a general idea, ranging in orderly connexion the scattered and too distant features. Let us particularly turn our eyes



upon France, the history of which is better known, whose relations to the other states are more striking, and the different forms of whose political government give a picture of almost all the changes that have happened in other countries.

Such an examination made with impartiality, far from weakening the submission due to the crown, can only render it more voluntary and perfect. It will prove how necessary the increase of the sovereign power was to the state; that if the means used for effecting this purpose were not always equitable, the end has been salutary; and that the misfortunes which till that time befel the nation, proceeded from the disorders of anarchy, or the tyranny of a-ristocracy. In a word, truth necessarily takes the side of legal authority.

Utility of  
this  
inquiry.

A herd of barbarians, known by the name of Franks, made a conquest of the fruitful provinces of Gaul, under their king Clovis; an able and ambitious chief, whom they followed from choice, not from constraint, and who had the art of directing the will of his followers to his own purpose; but in other respects possessed so little authority, that a soldier dared to dispute with him the right of appropriating to himself a vase, which was part of the plunder taken from the enemy. However, the division of the conquered lands put him in possession of a considerable domain, which, with some small revenues of the crown, and the free gifts established by custom among the Germans, were sufficient for the maintenance of his court. He was even enabled to separate from it some lands, either to recompense the services, or conciliate

In what  
the  
authority of  
Clovis  
consisted.

the affections of his principal warriors. He still remained vested with the property of the *benefices* which he granted them ; and, reserving a right to withdraw them at his pleasure, had the means of punishment, as well as reward. These possessions were held on the condition of military service, and stood instead of pay ; for, as yet, no species of hired and standing armies was known.

National  
assemblies.  
Influence  
of the  
king.

The assembly of the nation enacted laws, decided on war or peace, and at least shared the principal rights of sovereignty. Such was the government of all the barbarians ; but the influence of the prince naturally increased by his political talents and conquest. The respect entertained by the Franks for his family made the crown hereditary, though it was still conferred by the consent of the people, and there was no rule of succession firmly established ; but from that time his successors were enabled to acquire greater authority, by pursuing a regular plan, and supporting it with vigour.

No  
justice.

Unhappily every rational system of government was thwarted by barbarous laws and customs. Justice was in the hands of ignorant warriors, who reduced it almost to the right of the strongest. If crimes were punished, it was either by private revenge or pecuniary compositions, the easiness of which emboldened to the commission of other enormities. Almost all differences were decided by duel, or senseless *or-deals* ; the result of all which was, that the turbulent humour of the nation raged with unbribled licentiousness, acts of violence were incessantly multiplied, the strong oppressed the

weak, and storms broke out even round the throne.

The conqueror had established Christianity among his people, or rather, if we judge by the conduct of the generality, made them change their external worship, without almost any material alteration in their manners; for we scarcely perceive that the morality of a religion, so pure and beneficent, enlightened the minds of this fierce nation. We only see that they assumed the name of Christians, and that, in general, superstitious practices stood them in stead of the Christian virtues; that the prelates, with some remains of knowledge, though darkened by ignorance, acquired an absolute ascendant over their minds, and soon domineered even in the court. We find the absurd opinion almost universally established, that crimes are expiated, and paradise bought, by lavishing wealth on the ministers of the church; and consequently rich foundations becoming a kind of fashion, the bishops and the monks acquiring immense possessions in land, rising to the rank of nobles, sharing with them the obligation to military service, and adopting the manners of a class entirely devoted to arms. To finish the picture, we see them introducing into public affairs a mixture of crude religious ideas, proper to confound the sacred with the profane, the civil with the spiritual; a mixture from whence resulted a chaos of inconsistent pretensions, that put numberless fetters upon government, and tended to its utter dissolution.

Christianity  
of  
the Franks.

Causes of  
the  
revolution  
under

In fact, every thing proclaimed an approaching revolution. The monarchy, being frequently divided among several kings, became a theatre

the first  
race.

of wars and massacres. Weak and incapable princes abandoned the reins to the mayors of the palace, who governed in their name. After having excessively enriched the church, it became necessary to resume part of its lands for the subsistence of the military ; when the clergy and monks, being stripped of their property, raised disturbances, either through interest or prejudice. They pronounced sentence of damnation against the great Charles Martel, as an usurper of the patrimony of the poor ; but his son Pepin restoring the consecrated lands, and paying pompous honours to the relics, was the man designed by heaven to sway the sceptre. Such was the judgment of the clergy, secular and regular, of the celebrated Boniface of Mentz, and Pope Zachary ; in consequence of which, Pepin wrested from the descendants of Clovis the crown, which they had long shown themselves unworthy to wear.

This sketch of the first race is sufficient to show, that notwithstanding some imperfect maxims of public right, without which it would have been impossible for the nation to subsist, the government had scarce any fixed rules or principles ; and the seeds of anarchy, constantly increasing in fertility, must produce dreadful calamities.

Charle:  
magne  
reforms the  
state.

Pepin, and above all Charlemagne, heightened the lustre and power of the crown, even by restoring the national assemblies to their ancient splendour. The immense labours of the latter, his victories, conquests, zeal for good order, his laws and political administration, present us with an object of admiration in the midst of barbarism. In a better age he would

have extirpated the seeds of disorder ; and perhaps nothing but his boundless ambition prevented him from establishing the best system of government then practicable. To what purpose were his conquests of Italy and Germany? Would not France, if raised to a state of happiness, have been a more valuable possession than that vast empire? If the Saxons incessantly revolted, notwithstanding the terror of his arms, to what were not his successors infallibly exposed, who did not possess that extraordinary genius, which enabled him to surmount so many obstacles and dangers !

Accordingly his son, Louis the Debonnaire, soon became the sport of factions, and the whole empire was divided and filled with insurrections. Charlemagne had been able to restrain the clergy, though he favoured their excesses. Louis drew upon himself the hatred of that body, by endeavouring to subject them to discipline. The clergy then abused their power, and at once erected themselves into judges of the emperor, whom they insulted, oppressed, and deposed. This unheard-of attempt brought on numberless others of the same kind. Odi-ous enterprises give, as it were, a right of usurpation and rebellion, because they have been crowned with success. In a word, the ecclesiastical body, drawn on by favourable conjunc-tures, armed with forged decretals, and de-ri-ving power from the blind credulity of man-kind, overturned the established laws, and set up others of an arbitrary nature ; above all, ex-tended their own jurisdiction, freed themselves from the cognizance of the tribunals ; even dis-posed of the crown, in the name of that God

Inde:  
pendence  
of  
the clergy.

who commands them to be obedient to princes; and imagined that they were exercising rights derived to them from heaven, while they were overturning, or at least violating, the essential order of human society.

Usurpations  
of  
the feudal  
lords.

But the state was threatened with much more dreadful convulsions from the turbulence of the nobility, whose swords seemed perpetually out of the scabbard. From the time of Charles the Bald, son of Louis, the fiefs became hereditary; and it is conjectured, with sufficient probability, that the ambition of the vassals might be excited by the example of the church; for, as the lands which it was pretended were given to God, remained, as it were, annexed for ever to such a bishopric, or such a monastery, was it not natural for the possessor of a fief to endeavour to transmit his possession to his children? But whatever be in this, the state was torn into shreds. The lords usurped what was the incontestable property of the crown. Every one aimed at, and secured independence. Some great feudatories, and an endless number of petty vassals under them, left the king only a mighty name, and a shadow of royalty. They parcelled the domain among them, of which he retained only a few insignificant remains. Legal administration was entirely annihilated by a military aristocracy, or rather anarchy, armed and reduced to a system. Of what advantage to the lord paramount were proud titles, homages, and oaths? Of what avail was his right to command, without power to make himself obeyed? When the barons could give him law, and treat his orders with contempt, he was only a crowned idol.

The more that the feudal government, under the last kings of the Carlovingian line, was stuffed with minute rules, singular formalities and precautions, the deeper did anarchy strike its roots, because there was no real governing power. Accordingly, we meet only with scenes of disorder and depredations. Thousands of tyrants, armed against each other, spurned the duties and feelings of human nature. Slavery became a refuge to the people. That warlike nation, which, in the time of Charlemagne, was invincible, fell a prey to the insults of the Normans, a set of undisciplined and unprincipled pirates. Nor shall we be surprised at this, if we reflect on the civil discords, and the mischiefs inseparable from anarchy. To say all in one word, the state of society was then a state of war.

Mischief  
resulting  
from it.

The second race ended in the same manner as the first. As there were subjects who exceeded the king in power, some of them must one day deprive him of the throne; and Hugh Capet, descended from a family of heroes, two of whom had borne the title of king, took advantage of the circumstances to supplant the lawful heir of the crown. It was only by a series of revolutions, commotions, attempts, successful risks, and severe calamities, that this monstrous anarchy was dispelled; that order sprung from the chaos, and the regal authority, which was almost annihilated, raised its head amid so universal ruin. Some kings took advantage of favourable opportunities with address; others seized them with vigour: but, in general, things changed, because it was impossible they should remain on the same footing.

End of  
the  
second race.

Events guided politics much more than politics guided events. Knowledge is requisite to have a rational plan ; and, though at all times men are endowed with a kind of instinctive feeling, which makes them discern their true interest, the art of governing requires many other qualifications.

To weaken the power of the great men, and subject them to the regal authority, were the most effectual means for the restoration of order. I shall briefly run over the principal facts which led, though slowly, to the proposed end.

The  
crown  
hereditary.

1. Kings without domains, for they had nothing left but Laon, were only kings in name. Hugh Capet, by reuniting to the crown the duchy of France, and the other fiefs which were his private property, revived the seeds of power. But how far are we yet from the time when that of the sovereign rose to vigour ! By causing their sons to be crowned during their own lifetime, the first kings of the Capetian line fixed the succession in their family ; and this was a second step to power.

The  
crusade  
advan:  
tagous  
to  
Philip I.

2. The madness of crusades, which became epidemical under the great-grandson of Hugh Capet, turned, by a remarkable fatality, to the advantage of the king, while it exhausted the kingdom. The noblesse ruined their fortunes, and sold their lands, to go in search of adventures, and gain indulgences ; and marched into Asia, to give vent to that turbulent and martial disposition which made them so dangerous at home. Philip I., notwithstanding his excessive weakness, by this means enjoyed a peaceable



reign, which, in that early period, was a very remarkable phenomenon.

3. His son, Louis VI., surnamed the Fat, smoothed the path to the revolution. The tyranny of the nobles, the numberless violences committed with impunity, and suffered without relaxation, every where awakened sentiments of liberty, which were the more keen as the yoke became more odious. In Italy, Germany, France, and other countries, the same cause, according to the order of nature, produced the same effect. The inhabitants of the cities, and particularly of those in which the advantages of commerce began to be felt, aspired to a freedom of which there remained no vestige; and purchased and kept it, notwithstanding the strong opposition they met with, particularly from the clergy, who attacked them as guilty of sedition. They formed those municipal societies, those *corporations*, which were governed by their own magistrates, and armed for the defence of their privileges, with an obligation to serve their prince against his enemies. Louis the Fat, and his successors, favoured establishments so advantageous to the crown; as, on one side, the lords lost the power by which they oppressed the burghers; and these, on the other, contracted an affection for the royal authority, which they looked upon as a barrier against tyranny.

Establishment of municipal communities.

4. Without the supreme power in the administration of justice, sovereignty is of little value. He who judges, or appoints others to judge, has numberless advantages to procure respect and obedience. The lords had usurped this right when they appropriated the fiefs;

Progress of the royal judicial power.

and the *royal envoys* of Charlemagne would no longer have dared to show themselves in the provinces. It was therefore an excellent piece of policy, first practised by Louis VI., insensibly to undermine the seignorial courts of judicature. At first the custom was revived of sending commissioners, in quality of superintendants. Afterwards four great bailiffs of the king became judges in some particular cases, which were appropriated to their bench. In process of time, the right of appeal took root ; and at last the king became supreme judge. Yet it required time to give so important a reformation strength, even in the king's domain ; but Philip-Augustus, by recovering the provinces which were in possession of the kings of England, and making himself feared and respected by his vassals, quickened the progress of authority, which was yet unstable.

The Roman  
law  
useful to the  
crown.

5. What perhaps contributed more to the change, was the new ideas of justice which had spread through Europe. The Canon law, notwithstanding the poison of the forged decretals, and the false principles with which it had been tainted, at least showed a regular form of procedure, an order of jurisdiction, and, in a word, some vestiges of the Roman jurisprudence. Justinian's Pandects, which were found about the middle of the twelfth century, greatly enlarged the knowledge of that subject. Schools of civilians were established, where the Roman law was taught, and extolled with enthusiastic admiration. Though it was overloaded with injudicious statutes in the last ages of the empire, it was supposed a masterpiece of perfec-

tion, because the laws of the barbarians were the masterpiece of extravagance. The kings used all their address to introduce it into their dominions. St Louis encouraged its study, and propagated its maxims. That prince became a legislator, and exercised the supreme power with dignity; repressed the abuses of anarchy by his laws with regard to the coin, and *other essential points*; and established upon solid foundations that right of appeal which gives majesty to the crown. He administered justice with the authority of a sovereign, prohibited the trial by duel, substituting legal proofs in its stead, and thus laid the foundations of an universal reformation, which made visible progress.

Legislative  
power  
exercised by  
St Louis.

6. Thus, jurisprudence being no longer confined to a few vague notions and barbarous practices, became a study. But how could an ignorant nobility, which only breathed the spirit of war and adventures, be capable of studying, in order to attain the qualifications requisite for judges? It was immediately found necessary to admit the civilians on the bench, in quality of *reporters*, to give their assistance, or rather to dictate the sentence. Soon after, they became the sole judges. The gown was distinguished from the sword, and formed another class of nobility; while the sword looked with contempt on that illustrious profession from which it drew part of its power; the consequence of which was, that these two bodies were rivals; it became the interest of the latter to serve the prince against the former, and they employed their knowledge in his cause. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the par-

Authority  
of the  
civilians.

liament was fixed in the capital. Being the organ of the laws, it more and more strengthened the basis of monarchical government; yet it must be allowed, that the selfishness and prejudice of our ancient civilians exceeded the just bounds. Building upon some texts of scripture, and passages in the imperial laws, they supposed that the royalty of the Jewish kings, and the despotic power of the emperors, were rules for the constitution of France. This is the ordinary procedure of the human mind, especially when it begins to exercise itself on great objects; it exaggerates things before it comprehends their nature. But the principles of the magistrates were not, on that account, less useful in repressing the disorders of independence. Their opinion, in a great measure, formed that of the people; and with their authority increased that of the sovereign, to which they frequently served as the bulwark.

Admission  
of  
the third  
estate into  
the  
states:  
general.

7. Philip the Fair, in order to gain the affection of the whole body of the people, in his violent dispute with Boniface VIII., had summoned the commons to the states-general in 1303. This step, though hazardous under a harsh and unjust government, immediately produced good effects. The sentiments of liberty giving more vigour to the commons, tended more to counterbalance the power of the great men. The people, who were formerly slaves, and sunk in brutal insensibility, contracted a regard for their country, interested themselves in the public weal, became susceptible of zeal and generosity, recovered their feelings, and were one of the chief resources of the kings

against foreign enemies, or domestic foes to his power. But there likewise rose troublesome times, when the third estate, naturally the rival of the two first orders, which looked upon it with disdain, turned its activity and strength against the king himself. So difficult is it to regulate the balance of the powers! and the equilibrium once broken, the weight falls, and the contexture of the machine seems to be dissolved.

8. The clergy, whom we have seen so formidable to the kings of the second race, retained the greatest part of their prejudices, and were still very jealous of their excessive authority. But they already perceived, that the interest of the crown could not be indifferent to them; and their religious principles prompted them to inculcate entire obedience, unless they were led astray by pretexts of religion, or extraordinary circumstances. The resistance made by Philip Augustus, and even St Louis, but, above all, by Philip the Fair, against the attempts of the Romish court, taught men to distinguish between the cause of God and the pretensions of churchmen. Philip the Long, by excluding the bishops from parliament, took from them one means of encroaching on the civil power. Under the reign of Philip Valois, the king's advocate, Peter de Cugnieres, had the courage to attack this boundless power, which had sprung up in the darkness of barbarism. He combated its abuses and injustice with such reasons, good or bad, as occurred to him, and was answered with authorities and examples, but few arguments. At that time the dispute terminated, without having produced any effect; but,

Diminution  
of the  
ecclesiastical  
power.

by degrees, the people were freed from their subjection to the ecclesiastical courts. The appeals by writs of error formed a guarantee against oppressions ; and the king always acquired more authority, in proportion as his courts judiciously separated the civil rights from spiritual matters ; a separation which the nature of things, obscured by time and custom, unluckily rendered too difficult.

Misfortunes  
of  
King John.

9. Under the reign of the unfortunate John, who was a prisoner in England, every thing threatened a renewal of anarchy. The third estate was seized with a seditious spirit, tried to domineer over the government, imposed laws on the wise dauphin, and forced him to odious submissions. The great charter of the English had almost been again produced in France. But that prince at last dispelled the storms. After his accession to the throne, he repaired the losses of the nation, triumphed over his domestic as well as foreign enemies, and reigned with equal authority and glory. Never did wisdom more clearly display its resources. But the misfortunes of Charles VI. soon overturned all that had been done by Charles V. The rage of factions, which almost universally prevailed, so entirely destroyed all idea of principles, laws, and country, that men did not blush to sacrifice the crown to the king of England, who fought against it. A foreign prince was acknowledged as lawful king ; and the Salic law was trampled under foot, a little after the most solemn homage had been paid to it. Yet, though it may seem incredible, this total overthrow of the monarchy was one of the causes which led to the reestablishment of order and subordina-

It  
falls under  
Charles  
VI.  
but to  
revive in  
a  
short time.

tion. The more the French had been misled by a spirit of infatuation, the more eagerly did they return to their duty. The more they saw the royal authority debased, even by their own fault, the more did they perceive the necessity and advantage of peaceable obedience.

10. Accordingly, Charles VII. made two decisive innovations, without the least opposition. He took troops into his pay, and the crown had a standing army. He established the perpetual *taille* for their subsistence; and from that time the crown depended less upon the subsidies granted by the states. It is not to be questioned, that these helps were sometimes abused. The military power became an instrument in the hands of ambition. The *taille*, which was originally very small, perpetually increased, and occasioned murmurs. But are these inconveniences comparable to the scourges of anarchy? Evil is almost constantly the companion of good; and to pass from great to lighter ills is often the utmost good possible, in a state where neither the manners nor other circumstances will permit the establishment of a wise and solid legislation.

A  
standing  
army  
and  
perpetual  
*taille*.

11. Louis XI., son of Charles VII., already affected despotism. He made the great men tremble by his cruelties; accumulated a treasure at the expense of the people; artfully employed corruption rather than arms; avoided war, instead of which he substituted artifice, confining his ambition to the establishment of absolute authority in his own kingdom; and every day increased his power. The death of Charles, last duke of Burgundy, likewise favoured his designs, notwithstanding the irre-

Louis  
XI. makes  
himself  
absolute.

parable fault with which he is reproached, in not having prevented the marriage of that prince's heiress with an archduke of Austria. His reign forms an important epoch. The kings had the public strength in their hands, and were able to execute great enterprises. Happy had they directed their labours to the felicity of the nation, rather than indulged a destructive passion for conquests ! Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., were little acquainted with their own interests. What folly was it to exhaust in foreign countries the blood and riches of the nation, which a good use of authority ought to have rendered so flourishing !

His  
successors  
are  
truly  
monarchs.

12. All the great fiefs, except the earldom of Flanders, were reunited to the crown. Its domain was made unalienable, and that essential principle was declared a fundamental law of the monarchy. Besides, the ancient inconveniences of the appanages were removed. The care of the finances, justice, legislation, and the military power, centred in the sovereign. He was therefore fully monarch. The states-general were not even assembled once during the reign of Francis I., while the nation was engaged in so long and ruinous wars. This assembly, which did not certainly know its own rights, which had neither principles, harmony, nor union, was only called to grant extraordinary aids. Francis found means to manage his affairs without such helps ; not even Henry VIII. in England, nor Charles V. in Spain, enjoyed so great power.

The  
government

13. The fanaticism of the sectaries, roused by persecution or another fanaticism, revived



the spirit of independence, and shook the throne. Projects were formed for a republic, and had well nigh been executed in France, as they were in the Low Countries. But at last Henry IV. triumphed over the factious. The wisdom of his administration gives us the picture of a beneficent monarch, governing by the laws, and making the glory and happiness of the kingdom his only aim, ruling his people as a father rules his children. In a word, a prince whose single reign would have raised France to the height of prosperity, had he not been cut off in his course by a superstitious monster.

reestablished  
under  
Henry IV.

14. After him, the nation fell back into the troubles of a stormy minority. The faults of government revived the dissensions and rebellions; and a weak king, who abandoned himself to favourites, was neither proper to dissipate cabals, nor to reign in a manner worthy of the son of Henry the Great. Take Richelieu from Louis XIII., perhaps we should see the reign of Henry III. revive. Had it not been for this haughty minister, the crown would have been debased. By taking of Rochelle, and thus crushing the republican spirit of Calvinism; by striking off the heads of many illustrious men, who were leaders of the party; he put the king in possession of the whole authority, or rather attached it entirely to his own ministry. Was the monarchical power so dear to the French, and so necessary to their happiness, to contract the vices of tyranny? Unhappily, Richelieu had the spirit of a despot; and circumstances hurried him into excesses, to which he was himself but too much

Government  
of  
Cardinal  
Richelieu.

inclined, He loaded the nation with imposts, and in a manner insulted the public misery by the pomp of his court. He insisted on the parliament paying implicit obedience, without examining the edicts, or debating freely; treated the magistrates as slaves, rather than as depositaries of the laws; caused the great men, whose ruin he had sworn, to be tried by judges whom he regarded as servile instruments of his vengeance; and directed their sentences, without even deigning to put on the appearance of impartiality. In one word, arbitrary power displayed itself with such violence in his hands, that hatred pursued him to the grave, notwithstanding the real services which he did to the monarchy.

Seeds  
of  
rebellion  
left  
behind  
him.

To strengthen authority, to reduce the great men to a state of dependence, and make all the members of the body politic move by the direction of a single head, was an important advantage; but it cannot be too often repeated, that the prudence of Henry IV., his justice, his mildness, and his beneficence, with the vigour of his genius, were more proper to give permanency to this great work, than the thunders of Richelieu. Nothing but a reign, such as we shall see that of Louis XIV., was capable of smothering the seeds of discord which the minister of Louis XIII. left in the nation. Terror and executions were much less effectual instruments, than a better knowledge of the sanctity of the laws, a clearer discussion of the principles of government, the propagation of knowledge among the people, the humanity of the court, the gentle manners and politeness of the great men and nobility, the bestowal or hope

of favours, the submission of the magistrates, the splendour of the throne, the reciprocal love of the king for the people, and of the people for the king.

It would be easy to apply the principal features in this picture to the different monarchical states. The government has everywhere undergone similar vicissitudes, and changed its form by the same steps. The people everywhere enjoyed at first almost unbounded liberty, but afterwards became slaves; the lords rose into tyrants, and the kings were without power. The royal authority everywhere revived with difficulty, gathered strength by employing a greater or less degree of dexterity, and floated between the shoals of weakness and despotism, till at last it subjected all the orders of the state, and concentrated in itself all the powers; acknowledging no fundamental laws, but those which it obliges itself to respect.

All the monarchies passed nearly through the same changes.

I speak not of mixed monarchies. We shall see the great revolution of England in its place. Two illustrious republics merit particular observation.

## II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC, AND THAT  
OF HOLLAND.

Tyranny  
paves  
the way to  
liberty.

AMONG a spirited people, tyranny has been always productive of liberty. Oppressed after being free, they have taken arms against their tyrants ; even defied death, in order to break the yoke of oppression, and carried their point by heroism and perseverance. Happy in their independence, if they strengthen their government by good laws, and such as are proper to guard against the causes of dissolution, arising either from the nature of things or political events.

Origin  
of  
the Helvetic  
League.

No state appears less exposed to this than the confederated republic of the thirteen Swiss Cantons. It took its rise in 1307, and was at first composed only of three cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, which revolted against the emperor Albert. In a short time, Lucerne joined the confederacy, which was afterwards strengthened by the accession of Zurich, Zug, Glaris, and Berne. Friburg and Soleure joined it in 1481 ; Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel entered into it at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These members of the Helvetic body were naturally united by a common interest ; and to this union they owed their strength and security. Independent on one another, governed each by their own laws and magistrates, but leagued for mutual defence,

they have acquired a lasting tranquillity amidst the convulsions of Europe.

One of our Sybarites, at sight of their rugged mountains covered with snow, their towns without luxury or public diversions, and almost all poor; will look upon the Swiss as unhappy. But the sage will perceive, that their happiness consists in that active poverty, and that masculine simplicity, which confine their wants, and furnish necessities; preserve their morals, and give a zest to the true pleasures of nature; which make men virtuous, free, and content. All being on a level, that is, equally subject to the laws, the difference of fortune is not sufficiently great among them to enable any to become masters of the others. In most of the cantons, the people have the right of bearing offices; and the magistrates cannot abuse a power which is limited by time, and restrained by the public superintendence. Simple and equitable laws are executed without constraint; and the statutes acquire their greatest strength from the manners.

Happiness  
of  
the  
Swiss  
founded on  
their  
manners.

The Swiss have nothing to fear behind their mountains, which serve them as ramparts; and as they do not enter into the quarrels of princes, they afford no pretence for invasion; on the contrary, it seems the interest of their neighbours rather to defend than subdue them. And in case of invasion, what resources would they not have in their patriotism and courage? If they sell their blood to foreign nations, they by this means have the advantage of training a number of their citizens to be expert soldiers, while it costs the republic nothing to form them to the trade of war. They keep up the national

They have  
nothing  
to fear.

bravery, at the same time that they supply the resources of a barren and extremely populous country.

United  
historians  
standing the  
difference  
of  
religion.

A singular proof of their prudence is, that their political harmony makes them almost forget the difference of religion. The civil wars which fanaticism kindled at the beginning of the reformation, were extinguished in a short time. Four Protestant cantons, Bale, Schaffhausen, Berns, and Zurich; two, Glaris and Appenzel, containing a mixture of Protestants and Catholics; and the seven others, which are entirely Catholics, formed a peaceable union, even at the time when Europe was still reeking with the blood which had been spilt under the pretence of religion. The greater progress that knowledge made among the Swiss, the more convincing was that lesson of Christian morality, that all men are brethren, and that no difference in doctrine ought to break ties so respectable.

May  
they guard  
against  
corruption.

As every thing degenerates with time, that people ought to guard against corruption, which destroys virtue and the strength of republics. The aristocratical government, riches, and power of the canton of Berns seem to presage, at a distance, some fatal event. Foreign manners, after tainting a number of the citizens, may spread their infection into the body of the state. Too great avidity for money may make their hearts venal, and fill them with mean selfishness, instead of love for their country; and what must then be the fate of a state whose stability is principally founded on the morals of its members?

The United Provinces are far from having a constitution equally robust with that of the Swiss. That republic, it is true, showed, at its origin, the same virtues, the same courage, the simple manners of poverty, invincible hatred against tyranny, wonderful firmness in dangers, and a vigour of resolution which could not be shaken by the overgrown power of the Spanish monarchs. But besides that those brave republicans were principally actuated by religious fanaticism, the strength of which soon wears out, their vast conquests, and the treasures which they drew from them, necessarily introduced a change of principles. How could the spirit of ambition and commerce be made compatible with the ancient republican virtues?

Change  
of  
manners  
in  
Holland.

Besides, the faults of the government were, at the beginning, so considerable, that, according to Grotius, they would have destroyed the republic, had it not been for the hatred with which it was inflamed against the Spanish yoke. Each of the seven provinces forms a separate independent state, and every city in each province enjoys the same independence. If an affair is proposed in the provincial states, the deputies are obliged to follow the advice of the senate, or council of the towns which they represent. The affairs of greatest moment, peace, war, alliances, and new taxes, must be decided by the unanimous consent of the states-general, which are always assembled at the Hague; and its members are, in all affairs, to consult the provinces, from whose opinion they must not make the least variation. Friesland alone trusts to the prudence of its deputies. We see at first view the trammels in which government is con-

Faults  
of its  
government.

finer by those excessive precautions, the delays which they occasion, and how repugnant the required unanimity is to the end of deliberations on matters that require expedition.

Too great  
privileges  
of the  
Stadtholder.

It therefore became necessary to seek a remedy for the evil, from the first establishment of the government, and the stadtholdership was set up; a dignity as necessary as the Roman dictatorship in very tempestuous times; but which ought to have had a fixed period, and, above all, not to have been made hereditary, if the republic had taken proper measures for securing that liberty of which it was so jealous. The privileges of the stadtholder are excessively great. He is general and admiral in chief, with the nomination to all military employments. He likewise chooses the magistrates of the towns, which present to him a certain number of persons, from whom he makes his election; he presides in the courts of justice, where sentence is given in his name; judges without appeal the differences of cities and provinces; executes the decrees of provincial states; has the power of granting pardon to criminals; lastly, he gives audience to foreign ministers; and has a right to keep agents in the courts for the management of his private affairs, who have every opportunity of serving him in other matters. Such a magistrate approaches nearly to regal power; and even from the beginning his prerogatives were sufficient to give uneasiness.

The first  
stadtholders,  
patriots.

Happily the princes of Orange, William, his son Maurice, and Frederic Henry, brother of Maurice, managed the stadtholdership like good patriots, or at least their ambition had bounds;



and to them ought, in great measure, to be attributed the successes of Holland ; though perhaps they paid so great respect to liberty, only because there were enemies to vanquish. But the peace of Westphalia had no sooner established the victorious commonwealth, than William II., son and successor of Frederic Henry, filled the republicans with just alarms.

Death interrupted his projects in 1660, when the dignity of stadtholder was abolished, but the faults of the government were not corrected. It was soon found necessary to restore it, in order to oppose Louis XIV. It was made hereditary under William III.; once more attempted to be abolished, upon his dying without issue male ; again restored, in favour of the second branch of his family ; and the inheritance extended even to the daughters of the stadtholder, as we shall see in another place.

Whoever reflects on the constitution, genius, character, and manners of the Dutch, a people entirely addicted to commerce, defended only by an ill-disciplined mercenary army, no longer possessed of that vigour which liberty, springing up, and environed with danger, gives to the mind ; whoever, I say, examines these causes, political or moral, will discover in them the principles of the events which have already happened, and perhaps be enabled to foresee those which certain conjunctures may bring on.

Let us represent to ourselves Genoa, rich and destitute of power, ruled by a rigid aristocracy, varying at the pleasure of factions, or with every change of events, and constantly threatened with a foreign yoke, which it is almost impossible for it to avoid. Let us take a view

The Dutch exposed to danger by their manners.

Short sketch of the other republics.

of Venice, undisturbed at home by the slavish spirit of the people, and the chains which the restless jealousy of power has forged for the nobles, but which owes this tranquillity as much to the depravation of manners as to the invariable principles of its government; supporting itself by spies and terror, more than by the influence of the laws; deprived of that extensive commerce which formed the basis of its power; exposed more than ever to the attempts of its neighbours in case of a rupture, and not daring to trust one of its own members with the sword, which would put the preservation of the state into his power. Let us take a view of Poland, plunged into anarchy even by its laws, and so unluckily constituted, that a single madman, in its diets, is sure of rendering ineffectual every salutary measure which wisdom can contrive; and lastly, cast our eyes upon Holland, enervated by its riches as well as its conquests, much less free in its internal government, and less respectable abroad than in those tempestuous times when it seemed ready to be crushed by the Spanish monarchy. This examination will convince us, that, in order to form a real republic, the people must be warlike, poor, virtuous, separated from their neighbours, defended by their frontiers and their manners, and solely ambitious of maintaining their liberty, laws, and government; in a word, a people such as the Swiss.

### III.

#### REVOLUTIONS IN MANNERS.

THERE is a reciprocal influence between the manners and government; and we every where see the political constitution, in a greater or less degree, follow the changes of the moral order. Both are connected and combined in such a manner, that their relations cannot escape attentive eyes. The observations on the manners, which I have scattered in this work, account for part of the events; and I shall here add some other remarks, equally important.

Reciprocal  
influence  
of the  
manners and  
govern-  
ment.

When the western nations were led by the crusades into the east, new ideas, produced by entirely new objects, sowed the seeds of a revolution. Not only the Greeks, but the Saracens, showed the crusaders a model of more refined manners, of a more agreeable and convenient intercourse in society. At Constantinople they saw the magnificent monuments of the arts, and became acquainted with the Asiatic pleasures. Commerce opened to the Italians and Flemings a source of wealth. Men of different countries grew into acquaintance, learned to treat with each other, and communicated ideas and inclinations more worthy of social life. This first step was important.

The  
crusades  
first  
introduced  
a change in  
manners.

Chivalry, which was brought into fashion by the Saracens of Spain, notwithstanding its romantic extravagances, became a principle ex-

Increased  
by  
chivalry,

tremely useful for the civilization of manners, and even mitigated the horrors of war. The gallant knights distinguished themselves by devoting their lives to the defence of the weak and unhappy, placed the point of honour, in generosity as well as courage, and were as ambitious of gaining the esteem of their enemies, as of victory itself. After the example of St Louis, and a multitude of French heroes, Edward III., and above all, his son, the prince of Wales, were models in this kind. The maxims inculcated on young people in the schools of chivalry, the habits which they there contracted, the sentiments of honour fostered by enthusiasm, necessarily produced lasting and remarkable effects.

Love a  
grand spring  
in  
chivalry.

One of the principal springs of chivalry was love. This passion, which is so frequently pernicious, was the nurse of heroism among the Spartans, and had the same influence among the Celts and ancient Germans; nations which looked upon the women with a religious eye, revered in them the manly virtues adorned by the charms of the sex, and joined to love sentiments the more noble, as they looked upon the conjugal tie to be inviolable. Doubtless there remained in Europe a groundwork of those Celtic manners. We see heroines shine in the career of arms, as well as knights. We see the knights paying a kind of religious homage to their ladies, dedicating to them their thoughts, exploits, and triumphs.

The  
poets inspire  
a taste  
for  
gallantry.

When the Troubadours, the first provençal poets, began to deify the fair sex, and their songs became the delight of courts, the spirit of gallantry spread more widely. It is easy to

imagine, that this pure, and in a manner mystic love, so much celebrated by romance-writers and poets, often degenerated into gross voluptuousness ; but it formed a commerce of wit and sentiment, which softened the rudeness of ancient manners.

The delicacy, sensibility, graces, and insinuations of the women, the empire of beauty, which they exercise with so much address, the secret of chaining the men round them in the fetters of pleasure, necessarily increased the politeness of society, when they appeared in it with freedom and lustre ; but it is likewise to be considered, what dangerous passions, intrigues, and disturbances, they fomented. Francis I. having brought them to court, they soon played so considerable a part, as to make the affairs of state frequently depend upon their whims. The kings and the great men had mistresses, whom they were obliged to enrich, and to whom they were sometimes under a necessity of sacrificing every thing. The common method used by Catharine Medici, for the execution of her ambitious projects, was seducing mens hearts by the attractions and artifices of her women. Her's was the reign of corruptive gallantry.

The women  
polish the  
manners,  
but  
with great  
incon-  
veniences.

Mankind then fell into a dreadful depravation of manners, which first sprung up in Italy from the luxury of the Medicis ; a cruel refinement of policy, which supplied the want of power by villany, or the abuse made of sciences and talents to gratify the passions. From thence it spread like a pestilence mingled with the air. All the vices were sublimed ; and, what rendered the case more unhappy, they

Corruption  
sprung  
from Italy.

were founded upon principles reduced to a system, and it was matter of boast to be ingeniously mischievous and corrupted.

Views  
of  
the court.

The court became a theatre of voluptuousness, luxury, effeminacy, debauchery, and knavery; where the cultivation of the understanding, and the taste for letters, produced more poisonous fruits than real advantages; where men piqued themselves on their wit, by giving a loose to disorders; where they reasoned on religion while they were projecting the blackest crimes; where the fury of faction was inflamed in the lap of pleasures; and where a thousand detestable examples tended to infect the public manners.

Fanaticism  
maintains  
the  
authority of  
ancient  
manners.

Had the fanaticism of the Protestants been less violent, the contagion would have had a more rapid and extensive course. Their austere doctrine, their invectives against the disgrace brought upon religion, and the consequences which they drew from thence, to the advantage of the Reformation, were a bridle to the Catholics. The disputes on the points of faith filled both parties with a malignant and savage animosity. Religious zeal absorbed every other sentiment; enthusiasm and violence every day added bitterness to their hatred; and, to conclude, the atrocity of the civil wars, where the name of God was the ordinary signal for murder, preserved in society the traces of the ancient barbarity.

The  
nobility yet  
little  
addicted  
to luxury or  
study.

Besides, the arts and commerce being confined within a narrow circle, had not greatly propagated luxury, nor that effeminacy which is its inseparable concomitant. The ladies yet travelled on horseback. Almost all the conve-

sciences which we enjoy were unknown. In general, the nobility disdained study, hated repose, and breathed only a passion for arms. In the midst of the convulsions of the state, rivers of blood were spilt, from the false point of honour alone. This is a subject which deserves consideration.

That barbarians should decide their differences by duel; that it should be often prescribed by the laws themselves, may be looked upon as a custom naturally resulting from the savage manners of those nations, the ignorance of the legislators and judges, and their want of ability to establish better regulations; in a word, from those prejudices which are the concomitants of barbarism. The Roman jurisprudence, with the changes which it occasioned, and the interest princes had in establishing it, could not alter the manners of a turbulent and ungovernable nobility. The high respect paid to chivalry, consecrated the abuses of valour. The spirit of duelling was fomented by its tournaments and challenges. In vain was this custom anathematized by the church, and opposed by the edicts of the kings. Such was its prevalence, that, after judicial combats were formally abolished, there were yet several instances of their being ordered by the judges. Under Philip Valois, Charles VI. and Charles VII., we find *arrêts* of parliament which leave not the least doubt in this respect. And what were the facts to be proved? One of them adultery, another incest. Henry II. commanded a duel to be fought in the beginning of his reign, afterwards swore never to permit another, and in a short time broke his oath. The challenges of

The  
custom  
of  
duels deeply  
rooted.

Francis I. and Charles V., though, like so many others given by kings to one another, they produced no effect, had made military men more ready to take offence than ever, and more untractable in their quarrels.

Their being  
forbidden,  
only  
multiplied  
them.

Every law directly repugnant to established manners, is either productive of almost no good, or even attended with a great deal of mischief, when the current of the manners is too strong for the statutes. The passion was irritated by prohibition. As men could no longer combat in lists with the formalities of justice, they fought clandestinely for the slightest causes. It was an epidemical madness. A word, a gesture, a nothing obliged them to give or accept a challenge, if they would not forfeit their honour. The relations and friends thought themselves obliged to take a share in these murderous quarrels, according to the custom of the ancient Germans. Near eight thousand pardons, granted in less than twenty years, to duelists who had killed their adversaries, sufficiently prove to what a prodigious height the mischief had grown in France. Henry IV. renewed a fruitless prohibition, which he himself neglected to put in execution. Louis XIII., or cardinal Richelieu, caused two noblemen who had fought a duel to be beheaded ; a severity equally ineffectual with the law.

A new  
revolution  
in  
manners  
was  
necessary.

It is an evident proof, that there remained still a rust of barbarism difficult to be cleared off. The real charms of society were little known, the debaucheries of the table making its principal pleasure. Still less were men acquainted with those social qualities which spring from enlightened reason, and exert themselves



in a pleasing intercourse with good company. Nothing was more uncommon than examples of that kind. Yet atrocious abuses could be extirpated only by a politeness which avoids every appearance of offence, the sentiments of humanity, good manners, and decorum. A revolution was necessary ; it was requisite that men's minds should change their bent, and reason give a new turn to the manners. We shall see a total alteration take place in the reign of Louis XIV.

In France, the national genius, lively, gay, generous, fond of novelty, extremely susceptible of perfection, less confined than elsewhere by the fetters of government and prejudice, ought naturally to make rapid progress, when once, having taken its flight, it found itself in the right direction. The circumstances were not the same in Spain, Portugal, England, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, where there were more obstacles to be conquered. Italy, which had greater abundance of models, then found itself, by its political situation, out of condition to produce all that genius seemed to give reason to expect. Fear and distrust chain up emulation and the social virtues.

*France was  
more proper  
than  
the rest of  
Europe.*

## IV.

## DECLINE OF THE POWER OF THE RÔMISH COURT.

The court  
of  
Rome  
not  
formidable.

THOUGH the prejudices of religion preserved their influence, yet, after the League, we find no more of those violent shocks which the court of Rome gave to the greatest kingdoms. The reason is, that, on one side, the kings had strengthened their power, and, on the other, experience made the popes dread new rebellions against the Holy See. What danger did not Paul V. run, by fulminating the interdict against Venice? Might not the Venetians have followed the example of the Dutch, and so many other states? Did not the principles of the senate breath a bold spirit of liberty, which it was dangerous to provoke? In our days, Rome would be far from taking such a step.

Yet  
Urban VII.  
had  
augmented  
its  
territory.

Yet that enterprising court kept up her pretensions, to enforce them with greater or less vigour, according to conjunctures. Attentive to the means of acquisition, she still extended the limits of a state which was formed by skill rather than strength. She even repaired the breaches that had been made in it by nepotism. Urban VIII., Barberino, enriched his nephews without dismembering the provinces. After the death of the last of the Roveros, he reunited to the ecclesiastical domain Urbino, Montefeltro, Gubio, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia, which had been possessed by that family.

Under his pontificate arose the dispute concerning the duchy of Castro, of which the family of Farnese was deprived soon after. The duke of Parma, Ranuccio I., son of the celebrated Alexander, had borrowed large sums from the *Mount of Piety*, which lends, at interest, on pledges or security. His son Odoard having quarrelled with the Barberinos, the pope's nephews, the corn of Castro was refused to be taken any longer in payment. That prince was obliged to accumulate the arrears of his debt. He was afterwards required to discharge the whole at once; and that being impossible, the duchy of Castro was confiscated, that they might pay themselves. The duke being seconded by the Italian princes, and protected by cardinal Richelieu, took up arms, and triumphed over the Barberinos. In 1644, the duchy was obliged to be restored; but the same year, after the death of Urban, Innocent X. confiscated it anew. It was again restored; yet, by dint of negotiations, the apostolic chamber found means to get possession of it once more, and has kept it ever since.

Castro  
taken from  
the  
family  
of Farnese.

Richelieu, in his quarrels with Urban, showed vigour, so far as he was not prompted to relax by his personal interest. The bishops were forbidden to see a nuncio extraordinary, who had boasted that the greatest part would declare in favour of the pope. The vacant hats were a means of reconciliation. The court of Rome had great advantages, by the honours and favours which were left at its disposal. How often has the public good been sacrificed to it, from ambition or vanity!

Richelieu  
embroiled  
with  
the pope.

Italian  
prejudices  
in  
the French  
clergy.

Besides, it must be agreed, that the Italian prejudices prevailed among the French clergy, as well as through the whole Romish church. Pithou, and other learned civilians, had brought invincible arguments against them; yet they were still maintained by the clergy, though their interests were united with those of the crown. The liberties of the Gallican church were reckoned by the generality of that body, not only problematical, but even unfounded.

Cardinal  
Perron.

In the last assembly of the states-general, held in the year 1614, cardinal Perron, celebrated by his embassy to Rome in the reign of Henry IV., had expressed himself rather like an Italian than a French prelate. His ritual of Evreux speaks of the bull *In cœna Domini*, as a sacred and inviolable law. On the contrary, the third estate, in the same assembly, could not pass the independence of the crown into a law, and by proposing it, had drawn upon themselves the clamours of the ecclesiastical body. Next year, 1615, the bishops redoubled their efforts for the publication of the council of Trent; and even bound themselves by oath, at Paris, to observe its decrees, and to appoint provincial synods where it should be received with greater solemnity. A thing more surprising is, that the court had a little before annulled an arrêt of parliament, by which the sovereign was declared independent in temporals.

Richer  
persecuted  
by  
Richelieu.

Even Richelieu, that minister so jealous of absolute authority, joined the persecutors of Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whose crime was his having proved that the pope was sub-

ject to a general council, that he is not a monarch in the church, and that princes may interfere in such ecclesiastical affairs as do not concern the faith. Richer was imprisoned, and would have been delivered up to the pope, had not the chancellor and parliament been active in his defence. F. Joseph du Tremblay, a famous capuchin, half enthusiast, half knave, the friend and emissary of the minister, had inveigled the doctor to his house, and, suddenly introducing a gang of murderers, forced from him a recantation, in presence of an apostolic notary, which Richer always reproached himself for having signed. This was called serving the church.

How can even the slaves of opinion resist examples so striking? After tracing down the history of the several ages, how can they not feel the necessity of examining the decisions of their masters? Do they not find, through the whole world, a multitude of absurd errors, long consecrated by superstition and ignorance, and afterwards acknowledged with difficulty for what they actually are? Was it doubted that the popes had a right to depose excommunicated princes, when they exercised that extraordinary privilege, and lighted up civil wars by a bull? Was their infallibility, though still more extraordinary, called in question, when it caused decrees to be received, which were equally contrary to equity and reason? Did the clergy of France, at present so estimable, entertain any doubt, in the reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV., that heresy ought to exclude a prince from the throne? Did they think in the time of Louis XIII. as they afterwards did

Useful  
reflection  
for the slaves  
of  
prejudice.

in that of Louis XIV.? And do they not in our days look with contempt upon some false notions, which, at the beginning of the century, they thought it their duty to maintain?

Such is the fate of religious prejudices which have not divine faith for their foundation; They are believed at first, because men are blind: By degrees they are qualified, when men dare to open their eyes on their falsehood; and then they fall of themselves. Happy are men when possessed only of religion, instead of so many pernicious superstitions!

Good  
books  
condemned,  
because  
they  
displeased  
at  
Rome.

Rome was too much interested in maintaining her principles, not to raise every imaginable barrier against what might destroy them: Hence that *index* of prohibited books, into which were put some excellent compositions; for instance, the history of the president de Thou, the works on the liberties of the Gallican church, and, what is more difficult to conceive, even the translations of the Holy Scriptures. Hence the anathemas and persecutions against the efforts of the human mind to discover and propagate the truth; as if the Catholic faith was founded upon contemptible ignorance! as if its enemies were not furnished with arguments against it, from this dread of its being injured by the approach of light? Let us declare it boldly, the shame of the ancient inquisitors, in every country, is stamped on the good works which they have condemned; and to have shaken off the yoke of their tribunal constitutes, in no small degree, the happiness of nations.

Contradiction

The contrariety of the sentences passed on books might furnish matter for new reflections.

Even in Spain they were frequently different from those given at Rome. The ecclesiastical annals of cardinal Baronius were condemned there, because they controverted the *monarchy of Sicily*, the right of legation granted to the Norman kings. What was condemned at Rome from one motive, met with the like fate in other countries on a different account. There the doctrine of cardinal Bellarmin was proscribed, because it denied the pope a direct power over the kings in temporals; in France, a mark of disgrace was fixed upon it by the parliament, because it attributed to the pope an indirect power, which at bottom had the same consequences. To conclude, the tribunal of Rome, though always ready to condemn judicious authors upon frivolous suspicions of heresy, approved those seditiously fanatical theologists, whose writings tended to the encouragement of regicide, and the destruction of governments. The approbation and censure of books deserve a place in the history of the human mind.

sentences  
passed  
on books.

Notwithstanding almost all the Catholic clergy were so entirely devoted to the court of Rome, she lost much of her influence and power from the time that the civilians acquired knowledge, and the sovereigns firmly established their authority. She was therefore obliged to give a value to trifles. If she could not command, she endeavoured to dazzle. In 1630, the cardinals petitioned Urban VIII. that their title of *Most Illustrious* should be changed into *Most Eminent*; that, except emperors and kings, every one should be obliged to give it them in conversation, and in their letters;

The court  
of  
Rome  
bestows  
titles.

otherwise they would not receive their letters, nor ever after see the persons ; and, lastly, ~~that~~ if any prelate, even a patriarch, dared to take the title of *Eminence*, he should incur the indignation of the Holy See, and be, *ipso facto*, deprived of the revenue of his benefices ; all which requests were granted by the pope. From that time the bishops have likewise desired pompous titles. They were styled *Reverend Father, Your Reverence* ; but they have acquired the appellations of *My Lord* and *Your Greatness* ; and *Reverence* is left to the monks.

Dispute  
between the  
Capuchins  
and  
other  
Franciscans.

Urban, who is extolled for his erudition, love of learning, and talent for poetry, employed himself seriously in affairs which seemed only proper for the times of barbarism. The order of the Capuchins had been established about a century ; and their reformation, their rapid increase, and the preference given them, could not fail of displeasing the other Franciscans, who obstinately disputed with them the title of Children of St Francis ; and, to elude a bull of Paul V. in their favour, maintained, that if they were descended from the holy founder, at least it was not in a right line. However, the title of the Capuchins was secured by a bull published in 1627, declaring that their institution takes its date from the beginning of the seraphic rule, because they have always observed it. Another quarrel arose between them and the Recollets, on account of the form of their habits ; and the pope determined by bull, under pain of excommunication, what dress they should all wear.

These trifles serve to paint the spirit of the times ; and to these we might join the absurd



privileges lavished on the several religious orders, to free them from all authority, except that of the pope. This was a thing to which the clergy and courts of justice in France were far from consenting. But let us pass to those theological matters which affected the interests of society.

## V.

## THEOLOGY. CASUISTS. PERNICIOUS DISPUTES.

Scholastic  
theology  
in  
the time of  
Erasmus.

ERASMUS exposed himself to the most bitter reproaches, by turning into ridicule the theologians of his time ; but did service to religion, and gave a proof of the solidity of his genius. Scholastic theology, the only one then known, being infected with the reveries of Arabic peripateticism, was commonly a barbarous unintelligible jargon, which degraded the simplicity of the Christian faith by obscure reasoning, disfigured the doctrines by extravagant explanations, and drowned a small number of sacred truths in a sea of frivolous and insoluble questions ; disputing on *formal* and *material* objects, on the *distinctions of the ratio ratiocinata and ratio ratiocinans* ; in a word, upon terms which never answered to any idea. Those grave doctors, looking down from their chair with contempt even upon the learned, thought themselves the organ of divine truth when they quoted a passage from St Thomas or Scotus. They were little acquainted with the Bible, still less with the ancient fathers, and least of all with ecclesiastical history. Their sophisms, supported by passages which often proved nothing, stood instead of all certainty ; and yet their schools resounded with disputes that never could be brought to an end.

This, as we have observed, was a subject of triumph to Luther and the Protestants. With the arms of erudition and criticism, they discomfited ridiculous adversaries, whose pride would never suffer them to acknowledge that they were in the wrong, and who commonly defended themselves only with absurdities. It is not to be doubted that the innovators abused those arms, which, however, were necessary to vanquish them; and, in consequence, the necessity of combating them gave birth to true theology; that is, to the study of the Holy Scriptures, tradition, and the councils. The learned languages became an object of application, the sacred doctrines were drawn from their source, and a plan of controversy was pursued which set the truth in open light. The Jesuit Bellarmin was of great service in opening this career.

Revival  
of  
more useful  
studies  
by  
the  
Protestants.

Yet the theologians did not quit their taste for the scholastic method, and it has been perpetuated to this day in several schools. Hence comes it, that a number of men of superior genius have in these places contracted so strong an aversion from a barren study, and perhaps have quitted them with less conviction of the truth of a religion in which they had been so ill-instructed. False theology has probably increased the number of infidels; and how many real friends to religion has it not caused to waste their abilities in sophisms!

The  
scholastic  
divinity  
still  
perpetuated.

The evil would have been less, had it produced only a waste of time, had not discord awakened in the schools afterwards to shake the Christian world. But interest, or bigotry to a particular order, enthusiasm, superstition, and

Hence  
pernicious  
discords.

the *theological hatred*, which grew too remarkable, rendered these disputes as pernicious as they were public. The same causes revived in the West those troubles which had been stirred up in the East by the monks. Had it not been for the rivalry between the Dominicans and Augustins, Lutheranism would perhaps have fallen into oblivion. Numerous and active bodies spread in every quarter, preachers, confessors, teachers, jealous of each other, were the more to be dreaded in theology, as they gave to their peculiar opinions the importance of the most necessary truths.

Violent  
disputes on  
the  
immaculate  
conception.

The Dominicans and Cordeliers disputed for some centuries on the *immaculate conception*. The first maintained, that the Holy Virgin participated in the sin of Adam ; the second, that she was born free from original sin. All Spain was thrown into a ferment by this dispute, in which all Europe took a part. Not only societies of divines, but bodies of magistrates, bound themselves by oath to support the glory of Mary, which was made to depend upon the opinion of the Cordeliers ; and their antagonists were run down as enemies to the Mother of God, and her Son. In order to defend a doctrine so zealously opposed, the Dominicans sometimes joined pious frauds to arguments. They forged miracles, because the same arms were used against them ; and even were guilty of a crying imposture at Berne, which stirred up the Swiss against the Romish church, while Zuinglius was preaching the reformation. They were opposed by the devotees, but their credit was great at Rome ; and their opinion has not been condemned, though the contrary doctrine

seems to be consecrated by the institution of a solemn festival. It is likewise disputed, whether the Virgin was spotless at the first or the second moment of her conception. Happily this dispute remains in the dust of the schools.

With the Jesuits, who took their birth in the midst of controversy, and are the keenest theologians that the world has produced, arose new troubles, which could not be appeased but by the destruction of the order. Being rivals of the Dominicans, they at first showed themselves zealous defenders of the prerogatives of the immaculate Virgin, and all the acts of devotion instituted in her honour. Soon after was kindled the theological war upon grace ; its nature ; in what manner it acts upon the will ; how it produces good thoughts and good actions in man. These things the theologians pretended to know, though they were the secrets of God. The Thomists, or Dominicans, had found out a *physical præmotion* ; the Scotists, or Franciscans, a *prædefinition* ; and with these high-sounding terms they explained the mystery, by rendering it more incomprehensible.

The Jesuits  
oppose  
the  
Dominicans.

Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, from a persuasion that their systems destroyed free-will, or an ambition to have the glory of establishing a new sect, contrived his *middle science*, by which God foresees future contingencies, and models his conduct in the dispensations of grace, so that its efficacy depends upon the foreseen consent of the human will. This opinion gave disgust. The Dominicans, in particular, cried out pelagianism, and stirred up the universities of Spain, the inquisition, the bishops, and the

Molina  
and  
the middle  
science.

court of Rome. Clement VIII. died when on the point of condemning the doctrine of Molina.

Congrega-  
tion de  
Auxiliis.

The famous congregation *de Auxiliis*, which he had established in 1597, to examine Molinism, ended only in 1607, under the pontificate of Paul V. The Dominicans and Jesuits disputed in these assemblies without ceasing, and with the utmost violence. The bull of condemnation was drawn up ; but the Jesuits being lately banished from Venice for having conformed to the pope's interdict, made a merit of their blind obedience to his orders. He prohibited both from condemning each other, and the animosity still continued, as well as the dispute.

Prediction  
of  
the Jesuit  
Henriques  
against  
Molinism.

Henriquez, a brother of Molina's order, had said, with regard to the book of that theologian, ' If ever such a doctrine is supported by powerful and subtle men belonging to a religious order, it will put the church in danger, and cause the loss of a great number of Catholics.' It is visible what sense these words bore in the mouth of a man who confined his views to theology. He was apprehensive for the doctrine of grace. But, considering matters in a temporal view, the prediction will appear more just. When a powerful and political order of men embraced a new doctrine, they must naturally set every spring in motion to establish it, even on the ruins of their antagonists. And hence, how many storms arose in the church ! how many cabals in society ! how many worthy men were sacrificed by false zeal ! and what mischiefs brought upon religion, which is so unjustly charged with

the faults of its ministers! The dispute concerning grace is become a hydra, one head of which being cut off, produces a number of others, from the insatiable ardour for disputation.

So early as the year 1565, the Cordeliers had lodged an information against several propositions of Michael Bay, or Baius, a doctor of Louvain, who, attacking the immaculate conception, seemed to them likewise to attack the faith on the subject of grace; and Pius V. condemned seventy-three of them as *heretical, erroneous, suspicious, rash, and scandalous*, though without specifying any of them in the bull. Thus it was made a matter of dispute, which of them were heretical, and which not.

Affair  
of  
Baius.

The doctors of Louvain were, above all, embarrassed by a comma, the position of which would fix the sense of a sentence. They consulted Rome, and the affair was drawn out to a great length; the disputes continued in that university till 1580, when Gregory XIII. sent thither a bull confirming that of Pius V. which Tolet, a celebrated Jesuit, since a cardinal, was ordered to enforce; and succeeded, obliging Baius not only to retract his propositions, but to acknowledge that he had written them in the same sense in which they were condemned.

Embarrass-  
ment of  
the  
doctors  
of Louvain.

This triumph of the Jesuits, for their doctrine directly contradicted that of Baius, prepared the way for Jansenism. Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ipres, who was formerly a doctor of Louvain, had written a large book to explain the sentiments of St Augustine on grace; which was published in 1640, after his

New  
dispute  
on  
the death  
of  
Jansen.

death, immediately attacked by the Jesuits, and condemned by Urban VIII. in 1642. But the doctors of Louvain treated his bull as surreptitious, because it imputed to Jansen the doctrine of Baius. They sent a deputation to Rome, and at the end of three years their deputies returned, no farther advanced than they were the first day of their journey.

An  
information  
lodged  
against his  
doctrine.

The spirit of the French was no less turned for controversy than that of the Flemings; nor were the French Jesuits less bigotted than others to their systems, which they used their utmost endeavours to connect with religion. Accordingly the affair of Jansen, or rather his work, soon put the clergy in motion. The abbot of St Ciran, a friend of the bishop of Ipres, had propagated his doctrine among some men of uncommon merit, such as the celebrated Arnaud, and the learned recluses of Port Royal. A doctor of the Sorbonne imagining the faith to be in danger, lodged an information against some propositions in the book of Jansen, and a censure of them was on the point of being published; but it was stopped by a writ of error, entered by sixty doctors. However, the affair was prosecuted by about fourscore bishops, who informed against the famous five articles at Rome, and Innocent X. condemned them in 1653, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the general of the Dominicans, and the remonstrances of eleven French prelates.

The  
five  
articles.

The articles contain in substance, 1. That there are some commands of God impossible to the just, because they have not sufficient grace. 2. That grace is irresistible. 3. That a liberty



free from constraint, not from necessity, is sufficient to constitute merit or demerit. 4. That the semi-pelagian heresy consisted in maintaining, that it was possible to resist or comply with the motions of grace. 5. That Jesus Christ did not die for all men.

A doctrine so harsh, and which too much resembled that of the Protestants, seemed actually supported by some passages of St Augustine. But as the Protestants were wrong in building upon some passages of St Paul, taken literally, in order to combat truths equally conformable to Scripture and reason; Jansen and his partisans were equally wrong, in refusing to soften the harshest expressions of St Augustine, who, in the heat of controversies, was not always consistent with himself. If it had been possible to define, or even honestly to examine, in theology, how far authority ought to extend on each point, the principal root of the disputes would have been destroyed. But the passions of the Jansenists were too much inflamed not to overleap the proper bounds.

The  
Jansenists  
abused  
the  
authority  
of St  
Augustine.

On the other hand, was it prudent to make so great a noise against an obscure book, scarcely known by a few doctors? Was it wise to awaken quarrels which might be productive of a schism? Was it just to accuse of heresy, and to persecute as heretics, pious and respectable men, always firm in their profession of the catholic faith, as well as their theological opinions? Was it not dangerous to inspire party-zeal by kindling hatred and enthusiasm? The consequences of this affair, which I shall resume elsewhere, were always productive of affliction of the church.

Their  
adversaries  
wanted  
prudence.

*Moral  
theology.*

Another species of theology brought into fashion by the monastic orders, less subject to the abuses of controversy, because it did not affect the doctrine, yet became another source of offences to religion, because it was soon corrupted. I speak of *moral theology*, or the science of casuists, which offers us matter for important reflections, nothing being more interesting than morals.

Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and several of the Stoics, had treated morality like philosophers, establishing its duties, and inspiring the love of virtue, with a strength of reason and force of sentiment worthy of the greatness of the subject. The fathers of the church had handled it like true pastors of souls, explaining the rules of the gospel, inculcating them in an affecting manner, and teaching every thing necessary for making men live like Christians. On the revival of learning, the theologians treated it like scholastics, by introducing their subtilties and sophisms, making every thing a subject of dispute, substituting words instead of things, embroiling simple ideas, and obscuring fundamental truths by false applications. Things grew much worse when the Mendicants took the lead.

*Why the  
casuists  
multiplied.*

Then private confession became more frequent, and its details more minute. The canonical penances grew into desuetude every day, and the ancient rules were supplied by the particular judgment of the confessor, on whom alone it depended to prescribe the satisfaction, and administer absolution. As he stood in need of principles to direct him, it was thought proper to form them into a system of science. But

instead of consulting the gospel, the canons, the fathers, and even the dictates of universal conscience, they composed, in the scholastic method, crude, diffusive treatises ; a species of arbitrary codes, where cases were frequently decided according to the directions of caprice and ignorance ; and this career being once laid open, swarms of casuists hastened to complete it.

The distinction of sins into mortal and venial, the one incurring the guilt of damnation, the others not, ought to have stopped them at the first step, had they reflected on their enterprise ; for the difference between a venial and mortal sin being, according to them, as it were, infinite, in what an abyss must they necessarily be lost, when they wanted to settle the degree of the sin in each particular case ! For example, how could they find the point where theft became a mortal sin ? Would one, two, or ten crowns, give it that character, which it could not have below a certain sum ? To settle on such foundations rules for conduct, and the expiations necessary for salvation, is exercising the judgment of God with the prejudices of the school, subjecting Christian morality to the most capricious whimsies.

Distinction  
of  
sins into  
mortal and  
venial.

One of the first fruits of the new science was relaxation, of which Fleuri has given the reason : ' The casuists were for the most part friars, and of the Mendicant orders, who had appropriated almost entirely to themselves the study of casuistry, and the administration of penance. But mendicity is a great obstacle to severity and firmness, with regard to those to whom its professors are indebted for their subsistence.' As the same author remarks, they committed two essential faults ; the one, in

Relaxation  
produced  
by  
the doctrine  
of  
the casuists.

excusing sins by their scholastic distinctions ; the other in making absolution much too easy. ' That facility,' adds he, ' seemed necessary in the countries where the Inquisition prevails, in which the habitual sinner dares not neglect the Easter-duty, for fear of being informed against, excommunicated, at the end of the year declared under suspicion of heresy, and prosecuted as a heretic. Accordingly, it is there that we see the loosest casuists.' Their doctrine comes almost to this, *that a person may sin every day, on condition of confessing every day.* \*

They  
made every  
thing  
problematic:  
cal.

Certainly disorders must be multiplied by an expiation so easy. But the casuists did not stop here ; while they endeavoured to establish exactly the distinction between sins, they sapped even the foundations of morality. Every thing was made problematical. It was a question, whether fraud, revenge, calumny, homicide, rebellion, regicide, could not be lawful. Sometimes they were justified by the most insensate decisions.

Probability. That pernicious doctrine of *probability* was invented, which teaches the art of committing sin with a safe conscience. An opinion became *probable* by the authority of a grave author, of a learned and pious man ; and from that time it might be followed with confidence. But almost all the casuists of greatest reputation entertained some sentiment not only false, but even contrary to the essential principles of civil or Christian society. Thus, the judges of conscience seemed to teach and authorize crimes.

The  
morality of  
the

If the morality of the relaxed casuists be compared to that of Cicero's Offices, not to speak

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\* Eighth Disc. of Fleuri.

here of that of the Stoics, we shall see that a theology corrupted by shameful prejudices is, in a great degree, inferior on many essential points even to the light of reason. Nor is this matter of surprise ; the writers of that class reasoned little, were ill acquainted with the human heart, did not go back to first principles, but copied and quoted one another ; and a few leaders drew after them a blind multitude, of whom they were the oracles.

ancient  
philosophers  
more pure.

The Jesuits, who entertained an eager fondness for every kind of employment, where religion could give dominion over mankind, and were sometimes excited by zeal, sometimes by rivalry and the spirit of their order, soon signalized themselves in this so perilous study. They not only followed the beaten track, but struck out new paths, and at last bewildered themselves like the others ; and the more, as, setting out from the same principles, they extended their consequences farther, because in general they pursued a system with greater skill. Sanchez, a great casuist of their order, whose purity of morals they extol, published a *folio* volume on marriage, where, in several passages, he seems to transgress the rules of modesty. So many inconveniencies did the madness of deciding every thing draw after it.

The  
Jesuits  
bewildered  
in  
this career.

The just reproaches brought against other casuists of the society are sufficiently known by the *Provincial Letters*. In that satire Pascal dissembles, that they had borrowed the greatest part of their opinions from other hands ; gives a malicious interpretation to the severe morality of some Jesuits, who entertained sentiments directly opposite to the generality ; and ascribes execrable intentions to the whole body,

Provincial  
Letters.

which it is impossible to imagine can be entertained by any order of that nature. Yet his masterly work gives a clear demonstration, that the abuses of moral theology, like those of the scholastic, have been one of the pests of the human race.

Excesses of  
the  
rigorists.

Every excess, even in what is good, produces a real evil. To the relaxed doctors, who flattered the passions, were opposed a set of rigorists, that in some sort destroyed human nature. Their gloomy misanthropy, forming extravagant ideas of Christian perfection, changed the most harmless actions into crimes. They condemned lawful and innocent amusements, combated those sentiments and practices, without which it would be impossible long to keep up the intercourse of civil life; imposed false duties, whose yoke was only proper to make virtue odious to the generality of mankind; passed sentence of damnation with the same ease as the others gave absolution; and, supporting their decisions by sacred authorities, believed themselves the sole apostles of evangelical morality, while, in fact, they were making it impracticable. This is the ordinary genius of reformers.

Evils  
resulting  
from  
the  
contrariety  
of  
decisions.

What was the result of this contrast? Cruel uneasiness to timorous consciences, and to infidels a sovereign contempt for the judgment of theologians. One school prohibited, under pain of damnation, what another permitted or openly excused. Opposite decisions were made in the same spot. Practices adopted with utility in one place, severely prohibited in the neighbourhood. Men's minds floated between the more or less probable, without having any rule to

guide them. Sometimes trifles were aggravated into crimes; sometimes they flattered themselves that crimes might be expiated by certain formularies of devotion. The same casuist who looked with a favourable eye on practices really vicious, was mercilessly rigid in matters of no importance; and these two extremes were greatly hurtful to the cause of Christianity and the welfare of society. A clear, precise system of morality, extracted from the divine law, and a knowledge of the human heart; an upright conscience, enlightened by the gospel and by reason, ought to have served as casuists.

The spirit of contention followed the theologians to the extremities of the world. If heroic zeal transported missionaries into regions the least known, it very seldom escaped the bad effects of discord, when the apostles wore a different habit. In China, where the Jesuits for some time met with success, the Dominicans soon raised a quarrel against them on the subject of the ceremonies practised in honour of the illustrious dead. These the Jesuits looked upon only as civil customs, which ought to be tolerated; but, in the eyes of the Dominicans, they were criminal idolatries, which it was necessary to eradicate. The affair being carried to Rome, has there taken different turns, according to the times. But it is sufficient for us to observe, that the Chinese government was provoked at these strange disputes, which, among people of less moderation, have equally ruined the fruit of all the missions; and that, if the Christian faith be declining in Europe,

A spirit  
of  
contention  
even  
among the  
mission:  
aries.

as is but too visible, it is in a great measure owing to a cause entirely similar.

Most religious quarrels originate in the cloister. If we trace historical facts, or even reflect upon the nature of things, we see that almost all religious quarrels issued from the cloisters, to set the Western church in a flame, as had before been done in the East. The character, the rules, prejudices, influence, and credit of the monks ; even their virtues, when not guided by true wisdom, all concurred perpetually to renew the flame. Those vast bodies, which seemed the subjects of a foreign power, much more than of the states on whose vitals they preyed, still multiplied and spread. The sixteenth century produced the Theatines, the Jesuits, the Fathers of the Oratory, the Somasques, the Camaldoli, the Servites, the Fathers of Doctrine, the Recollets, the Pique-puces, the White Friars, and Bare-footed Carmelites, and many others. This last order, which was established in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century, possesses threescore and two religious houses in that kingdom. And what was this in comparison of the Jesuits and Capuchins ?



## VI.

## SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.

IN order to dispel the darkness, which is always favourable to disorders, it was necessary that science should give birth to truth ; but what for many ages went under that name, was its greatest obstacle. Science then consisted in a string of reveries, erected into principles by men who, if I may use the expression, drew from them their very existence ; who were filled with rage at the least appearance of novelty, and anathematized reason, because they justly dreaded its power. Aristotle, or rather his ignorant commentators, exercised a despotic authority over the human understanding. Even the laws, by an extraordinary piece of folly, rigorously prohibited every doctrine contrary to the absurdities of the schools. In a word, it may be said, that thought and common sense often became a crime.

In what  
science long  
consisted.

If Peripateticism debased theology, what must have been the state of philosophy ? And if we have seen it, even in our days, stuffed with *categories, universals, quiddities, negations, forms, essences* ; in a word, with ridiculous chimeras, magisterially taught to youth in several public schools ; in what must it have then consisted, when mankind had no idea of better studies, nor any liberty to pursue a better method of education ?

Philosophy  
consisted  
only of  
absurdities.

Beginning  
of  
the true  
philosophy.  
Francis  
Bacon.

But men of liberal and adventurous genius, capable of breaking the yoke of pedantry, gave wing to reason, and opened for her a path to knowledge. Under James I., king of England, Francis Bacon, a more illustrious philosopher in his disgrace, than he had been a good chancellor in the court, comprehended in some short works the seeds of the greatest part of the discoveries; demonstrated the faults in the common methods, and proposed others of an excellent kind; showed the futility of abstractions, which the doctors made their sole study; established the basis of science on the phenomena of nature; and in a manner prophesied the miracles which they would in a short time produce. In a word, he proved, that men knew nothing, which was at that time the most important lesson they could learn.

Descartes.

Some time after appeared Descartes, a gentleman of Touraine, who, reflecting upon the false notions with which he had been tainted by his masters, and on the scientific ignorance which was revered under the name of philosophy, attempted to new-cast the whole set of his ideas, in such a manner as, if possible, not to leave the least trace of his first errors. He began with doubting, of which he demonstrated the necessity; and what is more necessary in philosophy, where the examination of ideas, and the force of argument, ought alone to fix the judgment? By the help of one or two evident principles, he overthrew the whole dark system of the schools. But his two lively imagination led him astray. He wanted to create a new system, and explained the mechanism of

the world by vortices, which indeed show ingenuity, but are disowned by nature. In a word, he formed a sect which at least inspired a taste for reasoning clearly; and this was giving a mortal blow to the Peripatetic philosophy. The passage from error to truth is so difficult, that it is almost impossible to travel through it without committing some false step. Perhaps even the wild notions of this famous philosopher were of use to the progress of science. His seducing system at first formed enthusiasts, too far superior to the schoolmen not to triumph over their sophisms and injurious language. His method has since directed the observers of nature; and these have dissipated the Cartesian illusions.

Gassendi, an ecclesiastic of Provence, more Gassendi. circumspect than his cotemporary, and consequently less capable of making a noise, secretly attacked the old prejudices, and attempted to reform the atomic system of Epicurus. He opposed the absolute *plenum* of the Cartesians with solid arguments. His atoms floating in the void with a reciprocal attraction or repulsion, approach nearer to truth than the vortices. Yet this could only be an hypothesis more or less probable. Experiments were yet wanting. Men stood in need of facts, that they might arrive at truths; and, happily, genius turned its efforts to that quarter.

One of the men to whom the sciences are Galileo. principally indebted for their progress, and who was most severely punished for it by ignorance, was Galileo, the natural son of a Florentine nobleman. The system of Copernicus, which so well explains all the phenomena by the mo-

tion of the earth round the sun, deserved to have him for a defender ; and his observations placed that system in a light equally convincing with demonstration. About the end of the sixteenth century, an accidental discovery had been made of the first essay towards a telescope, by adjusting to the ends of a tube two glasses, one concave, the other convex ; but Galileo did not hear of it till 1609, and immediately perceived the advantages that might be reaped from such an instrument, if brought to perfection. He meditated, he made trials, and soon constructed a telescope, which showed objects three times larger than they were in nature. By still improving his discovery, he at last procured one that magnified three-and-thirty times. In a word, he discovered the mountains of the moon, the satellites of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the spots and rotation of the sun. Thus the analogy between the earth and the other planets was so clearly established, that, unless men shut their eyes against the light, the motion of the globe, which we inhabit, became almost indubitable.

The  
sciences  
persecuted.

But enlightening mankind was exposing one's self to dreadful misfortunes. Gassendi dared not combat Aristotle but with endless precautions, submitting his works to the judgment of the church ; as if Aristotle and the faith had any thing in common. Descartes having retired into Holland, that he might there enjoy liberty, met with persecutors in that country, and found himself accused of atheism, after having published new proofs of the existence of a deity. The persecutions which Galileo

met with in Italy, are too memorable to permit us to pass them entirely in silence.

In 1616, a monk having lodged an information against him before the Inquisition, he appeared, and was obliged, by cardinal Bellarmine, to promise that he would no more maintain the system of Copernicus by word or writing; sixteen days after which he published his *Dialogue*, where one of the interlocutors explains that system, and shows clearly which side was in the right. Upon this the enemies of good sense returned to the charge. Galileo was again summoned to Rome; and in 1633 the Inquisition passed that sentence, which was certainly worthy of the tenth century. *To say that the sun is in the centre, and has no local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy. It is even heretical, being expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture. To say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the world, nor immoveable, but that it has even a diurnal motion, is likewise a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, and at least erroneous in the faith.* The philosopher was sentenced to imprisonment, and constrained solemnly to abjure those *absurdities and heresies*. He died blind in 1642, at the age of seventy-eight.

Galileo  
persecuted  
by the  
Inquisition.

I make no reflection upon this decree of the inquisitors, which was signed by seven cardinals. It will be everlasting matter of confusion to presumptuous men who condemn what they know not, and in a manner dare to make religion an accomplice of their irrational excesses. Ought they not at least to have remembered, that they were often obliged to take the Scripture, on which they built their dogmatical sen-

This decree  
is a  
good lesson.

tence, in a sense widely different from the literal?

Bentivoglio  
favoured  
Galileo.

Let us observe, for the honour of learning, that cardinal Bentivoglio, an estimable historian, who had been a disciple of the philosopher, and was first commissioner of the Inquisition, opposed this act of injustice to the utmost of his power. But what could a single sage do against the madness of the times?

His other  
discoveries.

The world is indebted to Galileo for other important discoveries. He observed that bodies of unequal weight fall with equal velocity; that the motion of falling bodies is accelerated in the ratio of the odd numbers; that the unequal vibrations of a pendulum, provided they be small, are performed in equal times; whence he concluded, that a pendulum would be a proper measure of time. This idea doubtless gave rise to the pendulum clocks invented by the celebrated Huygens in 1656.

Torricelli.

Torricelli, a disciple of Galileo, walked in the steps of his master. He invented the microscope; an instrument as necessary for the knowledge of nature even as the telescope. By the experiment of mercury, enclosed in a glass tube, he proved that the weight of the air was the cause of the phenomena of the pump, and of all that the schools attributed to, I know not what, *horror of a vacuum*. This Pascal soon after demonstrated by new experiments.

The  
sciences  
make rapid  
progress.

We do not mention the astronomical labours of Tycho Brahé and Kepler; nor the new-modelling of algebra by Vieta, in France, during the sixteenth century, and which was applied with more success to geometry by Descartes; nor the circulation of the blood discovered by

Harvey, in England, &c. &c. When men applied boldly to useful sciences, observed and studied nature, bid defiance to old errors, and breathed the spirit of truth ; when experimental philosophy and mathematics accustomed them to think justly, and to shake off ruling prejudices ; when successful discoveries roused emulation and confidence, the curiosity of some, and the genius of others ; it might then be hoped that all the sciences would make rapid progress, and mutually aid each other in surmounting the numberless obstacles that stood in their way.

This revolution still required much time and pains. Men of letters were, in general, entirely destitute of the philosophic spirit. The greatest part preserved the pedantic taste, attached to the ungrateful studies of pure erudition. They wasted their strength on passages of Greek or Latin authors, arrogantly despised what did not bear the stamp of antiquity ; and the foul language with which their works abound, was in their esteem a beauty of style. Saumaise and F. Petau, both men of learning, combated in the style of fishwomen.

Pedantry  
still  
common.

Besides, we should deserve the same reproach as the men of erudition, did we not do justice to their painful lucubrations. They have procured to us information useful to philosophy as well as literature, and have prepared the materials for the palace of taste and reason. How many truths have been recovered from oblivion, by criticism applied to religious matters ? How many errors hath it not abolished ?

Services  
done by men  
of  
erudition.

Blondel  
and  
the French  
civilians.

The false decretals, for example, still preserved their authority, which, for ten centuries, had been productive of so fatal effects. At last David Blondel, a Protestant minister, demonstrated that they were the work of imposture; and their patrons dared no longer support them against demonstration. Our French civilians have done greater services to the states; because, had it not been for them, the kings and people would perhaps have been still unacquainted with the *imprescriptible* rights; the loss of which has plunged them into an abyss of misfortunes.

Bad taste in  
Italy  
and Spain.

Under Louis XIV., we shall see France become the most brilliant seat of letters and the fine arts. After Tasso, who died in 1595, Italy produced no more of those masterpieces, which gain universal admiration. The writers of that country rather indulged in sportive sallies of wit, than signalized themselves by superior efforts of genius. Spain degenerated still more. Her dramatic poets, and other literati, abandoned nature for bombast; and the Don Quixote of the ingenious Cervantes was only a just satire on the national taste. 'The only good book they have,' says the author of the Persian Letters, with too great severity, 'is that which shows the ridiculousness of all the rest.'

Shakespeare  
and  
Milton.

In England, Shakespeare created the drama under the reign of James I.; a poet who often degenerates into buffoonery, but is still admired by the English, on account of some excellent passages which hide his faults. The same thing may be said of Milton, whose *Pa-*



*radise* Lost did not see the light till 1667. One must be an Englishman to look upon those sublime geniuses as models of good taste.

One thing, for which cardinal Richelieu deserves the greatest encomiums, is having, as it were, cleared the soil from which were to spring so many works worthy of immortality. He favoured letters, which he cultivated himself; and, though his vanity as an author perhaps exposed him to ridicule, his example served as a spur to genius. French prose acquired elegance under the pen of Balzac and Voiture, notwithstanding the turgid style of the one, and the coquettish affectation of the other. Malherbe showed the charms of poetic harmony. Peter Corneille, after some indifferent works, produced the *Cid*; to which no other nation had any thing comparable. Richelieu being jealous of this poet, ordered the French Academy, which was established in 1635, to criticise that celebrated piece; and their criticism, as well as the work itself, was a proof of the progress the nation had made in literature, which was rendered much more striking by the tragedy of the *Horatii*, and above all by *Cinna*, that were written after the *Cid*.

Richelieu  
revives  
the  
spirit  
of  
literature.

The language had very near been fixed in the reign of Louis XIII., as the *Provincial Letters* appeared in 1654, eleven years after his death; a book which we would believe to have been written in the most brilliant period of Louis XIV. It is evident, then, that the barbarism which prevailed so long in France proceeded only from the wrong method of study. The national genius only wanted some good models and encouragement.

The  
language  
almost  
fixed.

Prejudices  
still  
subsisting.

It is just matter of surprise, that at the time when Descartes was blasting Peripateticism, and Corneille elevating the soul to the sentiments of the Roman heroes, the great, the body of the people, the clergy, and the magistrates, were still the slaves of many absurd prejudices. Astrology maintained its credit; trials for witchcraft were common, and attended with horrid consequences. Urban Grandier, who unhappily had offended the minister, was burnt alive in 1634, on a charge of having bewitched several nuns. However, the Sorbonne determined that their depositions were not admissible. But they gave the following extraordinary reason for their opinion; that even supposing them to be possessed, yet, according to St John, the devil is a liar; and he might, on other occasions, accuse the most virtuous persons.

The belles  
lettres  
ought to  
precede the  
sciences.

It is a question difficult to be decided, whether it would not have been more beneficial to the nation, that the light of the sciences had preceded the masterpieces of the *belle-lettre*. In general it may be observed, that, for a nation to be enlightened, it is necessary that it first be polished. The pleasures of sentiment must first dispose it to relish those of profound reason; agreeable studies exercise the mind to a habit of thinking, and the beauty that affects the feeling leads to truth, which is less striking. From those flowers of genius, with which France was covered, were to spring the fruits of wisdom and truth of every sort:

The  
fine arts.

The Luxemburg, the Palais-Royal, the Val-de-Grace, and the Sorbonne, are stately pieces of architecture, which were constructed during

the reign of Louis XIII. Vouet was the father of the French school of painting, while the Flemish was immortalized by Rubens and Vandyke. The dawn of the fine arts shone forth in France, and proclaimed the approaching wonders of the reign of which we are now to take a view,



**FOURTEENTH EPOCH.**  
**ERA OF LOUIS XIV.**

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**BOOK FIRST.**

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*THIS Epoch, which is the most interesting in history, comprehends an immense number of objects that require a particular narration, and deserve many reflections. The state of all nations is on the point of acquiring a settled form ; Learning and the Arts, circulating from one country to another, are on the eve of producing new ideas with new manners ; and great revolutions about to produce a change in the political systems. Here curiosity is principally roused ; and, unless its attention be fixed on the essential points, would be in a manner overwhelmed with a fruitless abundance. To avoid confusion, in treating a subject of such extent, I have divided it into several parts, where the facts can be methodically ranged.*

FOURTEENTH EPOCH.  
ERA OF LOUIS XIV.

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BOOK I.

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FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XIV. IN MDCXLIII,  
TO THE WAR OF MDCLXVII.

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CHAPTER I.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR AGAINST THE HOUSE OF  
AUSTRIA. TREATY OF WESTPHALIA IN MDCXLVIII.

WHEN Louis XIV. ascended the throne, at the age of four years and a half, Europe was in a turbulent state, which threatened France with a tempestuous minority. The war kindled by cardinal Richelieu against the house of Austria, either with a design to bring down its power, or to make himself necessary, continued its ravages, notwithstanding the preliminaries signed in 1641. The emperor Ferdinand III., less formidable than his father Ferdinand II.,

1648.  
Europe  
shaken with  
troubles  
and  
civil wars.

struggled against the forces of France and Sweden, without being able to dispose of those of the empire. Philip IV., king of Spain, had lost Roussillon, Catalonia, and Portugal; but, exhausted as his vast monarchy was, he still defended himself against the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, who were united by their common interest. If England, shaken with dreadful convulsions, no longer intermeddled in the affairs of the Continent, the fury shown by the republicans, in the war with which they persecuted an estimable king, necessarily changed, in a short time, into an activity which increased the national power. And to close the list, France, unhappy as well as the other states, was exposed to intestine discords, at the same time that she was obliged to support a fierce, obstinate, and ruinous war.

Anne  
of Austria  
regent  
in  
France.

Louis XIII. had, by his will, appointed a council of regency for the queen, Anne of Austria; but that princess desired to have the power of administration unlimited, for which purpose she addressed herself to the parliament; and that body, pronouncing sentence as if it had been a civil matter, annulled the last will of a king, under whom it had enjoyed little credit or influence.

Cardinal  
Mazarin  
prime  
minister.

Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian of an insinuating and artful character, who had for some time been settled in the kingdom, soon rose to the post of prime minister, and seemed to inherit the power of his benefactor Richelieu. The fortunes of some courtiers were destroyed as usual, and others raised upon their ruins; events, which, for some days, are the universal subject of discourse, and afterwards buried in



everlasting oblivion. But no alteration was made in the plan of the old ministry.

They who are fond of the details of wars will look for them in other works ; histories are full of them, and are not, on that account, of greater utility. Were we to adopt such a plan, we should fill whole pages with proper names, even though, like Mr Henault, we composed only a bare nomenclature of the facts of each campaign. And who could read them without disgust? Who could retain them? Perhaps it would be sufficient to observe, with regard to all these wars, that none of them procured the victor sufficiently great advantages to compensate the evils of which it had been the cause.

After the death of cardinal Richelieu, his rival, the count duke d'Olivarez, who had been absolute master in Spain, was disgraced. Don Louis de Haro, less despotic, less enterprising than Olivarez, was become prime minister, and France had gained by the change. Imagining that the minority of Louis XIV. opened to them a field for victory, their army marched from the Low Countries into Champagne, besieged Rocroi, and spread the alarm on every side.

Ministry  
of  
Spain.

Happily the French troops were commanded by a young hero, scarce twenty-one years of age, Louis duke d'Enguien, son of the prince of Condé. Genius supplied his want of experience; and though he had orders not to risk a battle, yet he fought and gained that of Rocroi, where the famous body of Spanish infantry was destroyed. This infantry, formed on the model of the Swiss, made the principal strength of Spain. Their commander, the count de Fu-

Condé  
victorious  
at  
Rocroi.

entes, fell gloriously, and the prince exclaimed, *I could wish to have died like him, had I not been victorious.* The victory at Rocroi paved the way for a series of triumphs.

Takes  
Thionville,  
and  
passes  
into  
Germany.  
1644.

The great Condé, for the duke d'Enguien already deserves that glorious name, soon made himself master of Thionville, which in the last reign it was thought imprudent to attack. His presence becoming necessary on the other side of the Rhine, as the marechal de Guebriant had been slain at the taking of Rothweil, and the divisions occasioned by his death had brought on the loss of the battle of Dutlingen, followed by other ill successes in Suabia; Merci, the emperor's general, having even made himself master of Friburg; Condé arrived, attacked him in an entrenched camp near that city, and, though inferior in number, defeated the imperialists, after a battle which lasted three days. Philipsburg and Mentz were the fruits of this victory. Gaston, duke of Orleans, had a little before made himself master of Gravelines, which held out two months. But the French were less successful in Catalonia, where Philip IV. defeated the marechal de la Mothe, and took the towns of Lerida and Balaguier.

Turenne  
beaten  
at  
Marstonhill.

While Condé was enjoying his glory in France, the marechal Turenne commanded the army in Germany, and advanced into the heart of the country, to take advantage of a great victory gained by the Swedish general, Torstenson, in Bohemia; but he committed an error, the only one, it is said, of which he was ever guilty, and consented that the allies should separate from his army; when Merci, taking advantage of the opportunity, defeated him, in

1645, at Mariendahl in Franconia. On this news Condé set out, joined Turenne, attacked Merci near Nordlingen, and gained a third victory, as glorious as the preceding. The illustrious Merci fell like Fuentes.

The prince then marched to take Dunkirk from the Spaniards, but was sent into Catalonia, where he miscarried at the siege of Lerida, for want of the necessary succours. This check was a triumph to those who looked upon him with envy; for the passions of courtiers sport with the public prosperity or ruin. But the following year, 1648, he renewed their vexation, by the battle of Lens in Artois, which he gained over the emperor's brother, the archduke Leopold. The speech he made to his soldiers before the battle, is preferable to all those with which the ancients have overloaded their histories. *My friends, remember Rocroi, Friburg, and Nordlingen.*

Taking  
of  
Dunkirk.  
1646.

A war was likewise carried on in Italy against Spain. The Barberinos, nephews of Urban VIII., who had quarrelled with his successor, Innocent X., having found an asylum in France, and Mazarin being discontented with the pope for refusing to bestow a hat on his brother, this private pique had an influence on the general operations. The war was carried to the coasts of Tuscany, for the sake of being near Rome; and though the siege of Orbitello was raised, yet Piombino and Porto Longoné being taken, Innocent accepted the terms imposed upon him. Thus do petty interests almost always mingle with the more specious motives for shedding of human blood.

War  
in Italy  
occasioned  
by the  
Barberinos.

Philip IV.  
unable  
to  
support the  
war.

Philip IV., who was naturally a good prince, but weak, and governed by favourites, found himself unable to support the weight of the war, and could obtain no assistance from his people. In 1645, the states of Arragon refused to take the oath of allegiance to his son, requiring, as a preliminary, the restoration of their privilege not to bear arms out of their own country; a refusal and claim which could proceed only from the most violent discontent. Philip being desirous at least to lessen the number of his enemies, made a treaty of peace with the United Provinces, by which he acknowledged their independence, and abandoned to them all their conquests.

Holland  
abandons  
France.

This republic had engaged not to treat without France, to which it lay under the greatest obligations. But in politics, interest or actual convenience prevails over past services; and as self-preservation is the first law in all states, they think themselves free from their engagements, when they are no longer consistent with the public weal. Holland began to dread France more than Spain. She obtained from the latter all that she could desire, and was unwilling to contribute to the too great power of the other. If she appeared guilty of ingratitude, she could at least colour it with specious reasons. By this treaty, which, though concluded in 1647, was not signed till January 1648, an end was put to a war of fourscore years, in which the heroism of liberty had gloriously revived the wonders of ancient Greece.

Insur-  
rections at  
Naples,  
and  
in Sicily.

Never had the Spanish monarchy been reduced to such a state of weakness and humiliation; and, as an addition to its misfortunes,

the kingdom of Naples was on the point of being lost. That people, who are naturally prone to sedition, were hurried into rebellion by the oppressive taxes and vexations of the viceroys and their subalterns. At Palermo, the revolt was headed by a brazier, and all Sicily, except Messina, was seized with the same epidemic fury which animated the populace of that city. The same part was played at Naples by a fisherman named Masaniello. Under his orders, the financiers, with part of the nobility, were massacred, the houses pillaged, and numberless acts of violence committed. Masaniello was, in his turn, murdered by the mutineers, who, in like manner, butchered a nobleman whom they had put in his room. A third leader proposed to establish a republic under the protection of France; and this scheme being adopted, they called in the duke of Guise, whose family had some pretensions on Naples; upon which that nobleman quitted Rome, where he was endeavouring to procure a dissolution of his marriage, exposed himself to the greatest dangers, passed through the Spanish fleet, arrived almost alone, and the people eagerly conferred upon him the title of doge.

1647.  
The  
duke of  
Guise  
proclaimed  
doge.

Mazarin judiciously favoured this enterprise; yet he sent no succours to the duke, perhaps from a suspicion that he aspired to the title of king; and every thing in a short time returned to its former state, both at Naples and in Sicily. Guise was betrayed by the man who had invited him, and sent to Spain, where he remained four years in a severe imprisonment. Dreadful executions were made of the Neapolitans, fourteen thousand of whom are reckoned

in success  
of his  
enterprise.

to have been massacred. 'No people,' says Giannoné, in his history of that kingdom, 'is more greedy, and less capable of liberty, than the Neapolitans. Giddy in their conduct, inconstant in their affections, unsteady in their opinions, they hate the present, and are too much depressed or elevated with the fears or hopes of futurity, according to the dictates of impetuous passion.' Such a people must suddenly pass from rebellion to a kind of servitude.

Nego:  
ciations  
at  
Westphalia.

Thus did the flames of war rage through the whole of Europe; and yet negotiations for a general peace had been carried on in Westphalia ever since the year 1644. These negotiations, which were endlessly complicated and difficult, are explained in the curious work of F. Bougeant. A thousand rights or claims to be conciliated, a thousand interests to be provided for, hostile religions to be disarmed, the chaos of the Germanic government to be disembroiled, the despotism of the emperor to be restrained, all the powers to be satisfied, or at least reunited in a single system of pacification, was the greatest work, of this kind, ever undertaken. The glory was shared between the counts d'Avaux and Servien, plenipotentiaries of France, and the son of the chancellor Oxenstiern, and Salvius, plenipotentiaries of Sweden. The first treated at Munster with the Catholics, the second at Osnaburg with the Protestants; but nothing was to be determined except by concert.

Motives  
retarding  
its  
conclusion.

Had either of the two powers concluded a separate treaty, it would have been of considerable advantage to the enemy. According-

ly, they employed all their address for that purpose. The Swedes were often shaken, either by very advantageous offers, or because their victories gave the law. However, they perceived, that the surest method was not to separate from France. The two crowns demanded satisfaction to be made at the same time, and required it to be considerable, at the expense of the empire. The emperor disputed every inch of ground. The war continued; and its events, as they were fortunate or unhappy, caused perpetual variations in the plan of the negociators, while the fraudulent policy introduced into Europe in the fifteenth century, ardently displayed its utmost subtlety. Must the interests of humanity always have so little weight in public affairs?

At last, the campaign of 1648 compelled Ferdinand III. to bend. The duke of Bavaria, having broken the neutrality, which he had lately promised, Wrangel, a famous Swedish general, joined Turenne, to fall upon his electorate. These two generals defeated the imperialists, took Donawert, and laid waste Bavaria; while Koningsmarck, another Swede, no less celebrated, invaded Bohemia, penetrated as far as Prague, took that city, and gave it up to be plundered. The booty was immense, the queen of Sweden's share alone being estimated at near seven millions of crowns. The old town was besieged, when news arrived of the peace. The extremity to which the emperor was reduced, with the passion of queen Christina for study and the fine arts, had hastened its conclusion; and Mazarin, being threatened with a civil war, was become more tractable.

1648.  
Campaign  
fatal to  
the  
imperialists.

Treaty  
of  
Westphalia.

The treaty of Westphalia was solemnly signed at Munster, the 24th of October 1648. As it is the basis of all succeeding treaties, and a fundamental law of the empire, it is necessary to be acquainted with its principal articles. The summary given of them by M. Pfeffel, in his Chronological Abridgment of the History of Germany, appears to me so well drawn up, and so instructive, that I think I ought to use it, with a very few alterations.

#### SATISFACTIONS GRANTED TO THE POWERS.

FRANCE had the sovereignty of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the city of Pignerol, Brisac, with its dependencies; the Sundgau, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right of keeping a garrison in Friburg. Sweden, besides five millions of crowns, had the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, which were secularized; Hither Pomerania, Stettin, the Isle of Rugen, and Wismar in Mecklenburg; the whole to be held as a fief of the empire, with three voices in the diet. The elector of Brandenburg was recompensed for the loss of Hither Pomerania, by the cession of the bishopric of Magdeburg, which was secularized; and those of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, which were declared secular principalities, with four votes in the diet. The dukes of Mecklenburg had, in exchange for Wismar, the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburg, in like manner, erected into secular principalities. The dukes of Brunswic-Lunenburg-Hanover had the perpe-



tual alternative in the bishopric of Osnaburg; so that a Catholic bishop, elected by the chapter, was to be succeeded by a Protestant bishop of that house. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had six hundred thousand crowns and some lands. The elector palatine was again put in possession of the Lower Palatinate, and an eighth electorate established in his favour, which was to be suppressed if either of the two branches of his house, that of Bavaria or the Palatine, became extinct. The republic of Switzerland was declared sovereign, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire. All the other princes and states of the empire were restored to their lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, and the year 1619.

#### SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION.

THE transaction at Passau in 1552, and the peace of religion in 1555, were confirmed in their whole extent. The Calvinists were to share in all the privileges of the Lutherans. All the ecclesiastical lands possessed by the Protestants in 1624, and by the elector palatine in 1619, to remain in their possession. Every beneficiary, Catholic or Protestant, shall lose his benefice if he change his religion. Every immediate member of the empire shall have the right of changing and reforming religion in his own dominions, as far as the statute of 1624, and the compacts made with his subjects, shall permit him. The subjects that abandon the religion established in their country in 1624,

may be tolerated by the prince ; but if he will not grant them liberty of conscience, he shall be obliged to allow them three years to quit his dominions. The imperial chamber shall be composed of twenty-four Protestant members, and twenty-six Catholics. The emperor shall receive six Protestants into the aulic council. An equal number of Catholic and Protestant states shall be chosen for the diets of deputation, except when they are summoned for an extraordinary cause. In this last case, all the deputies shall be Protestants, if the cause regards Protestants, and in the same manner for the Catholics. At the diet, and in all the tribunals of the empire, nothing can be concluded by a plurality of Catholic voices against the unanimous consent of the Protestants. If, in the diets, the suffrage of the *evangelic body* is found to be contrary to that of the Catholics, nothing can be determined but by way of amicable composition. If the same case happen in the two tribunals of the empire, the causes shall then be brought to a general diet. These were so many precautions against the religion of the emperor oppressing the other.

#### REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE PUBLIC GOVERNMENT.

Public  
government  
of  
the empire.

THE princes and states of Germany assembled in diet shall have a decisive vote in all the deliberations of the empire, especially in regard to the making of new laws, or interpreting the old, declaring war, levying troops, exacting contributions, raising subsidies in the empire,

building fortresses, making peace and alliances; and their approbation shall be essentially requisite. The college of the imperial cities shall in like manner have a decisive voice. In all deliberations upon matters which may turn to the prejudice of a state of the empire, nothing shall be decided but by way of amicable accommodation. The Aulic council shall follow the ordonnance and the procedures usual in the imperial court. Every particular state was confirmed in the privilege of making alliances with foreign powers, provided they were not against the emperor and the empire.

Such is the substance of a treaty so essential to the tranquillity of Europe, particularly to that of Germany. All the articles were guaranteed by France and Sweden. Innocent X. cancelled them by a bull; but a bull was too feeble an instrument for that purpose. Philip IV. refused to make peace, because he saw the civil war kindling in France, which he hoped to turn to his advantage.

Rome  
and Spain  
opposed  
the  
treaty.

Thus was order at last established in the Germanic constitution, after thirty years of troubles and massacres. The French and Swedes may be considered as the legislators of the empire, where their arms had made so many ravages. Had it not been for them, the head could not have agreed with the members, nor the members with one another; without them the difference of religions would have been an eternal source of discords. To satisfy the Protestants at the expense of the church, was the great art of the negociators. The Catholic princes losing none of their domains, and gaining the advantages of liberty and peace, con-

France  
and Sweden  
have  
established  
the  
Germanic  
privileges.

sented with the less difficulty to this treaty, of which Rome had reason to make bitter complaints, as they were unable to continue the war. Ferdinand III. had every thing to fear for his hereditary dominions, and necessity extorted from him a compliance. The despotism of Ferdinand II. must necessarily, sooner or later, bring on the liberty of Germany, as in every country violent disorders, sooner or later, pave the way for the restoration of order.

The  
Germanic  
liberty  
unenjoyed  
by  
the people.

However, this Germanic liberty is for the most part a blessing enjoyed by the princes, not by the people. The ancient servitude subsists in several states of the empire. The sovereigns, though extremely jealous of maintaining their privileges against the emperors, pay little regard to the rights of humanity in the treatment of their subjects. The states are free, but the people are slaves and oppressed. There, as in other countries, the laws are frequently on the side of the strong against the weak.

## CHAPTER II.

CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE AGAINST MAZARIN. SEQUEL  
OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

THE negotiations of Westphalia were drawing near a conclusion, and made the French ministry respectable in the eyes of Europe, when a civil war was kindled in Paris against the king, or rather against his minister. It was impossible that a foreigner, who was master of the government, could avoid becoming an object of envy, hatred, and cabals. Though cardinal Mazarin had too much address in the beginning of his ministry to copy the pomp and haughtiness of Richelieu, his fortune, his power, and the necessities of the public, furnished sufficient matter to the malecontents. The royal authority was little respected in his hands; and whether he abused it, or only seemed to abuse it, the spirit of rebellion became universal.

Hatred  
against  
Cardinal  
Mazarin.

From the time that the wars, endlessly prolonged and multiplied, swallowed up immense sums; from the time that they were carried on with money still more than by arms, it is inconceivable that the finances should have been

Bad state  
of the  
revenue.

always neglected, as if Henry IV. and Sully had lived in another world! Far from following their system of economy, the government ruined itself while it ruined the people. Seventy-five millions, to which the revenues nearly amounted, were not sufficient for the public necessities, though the state was much less in debt than it is at present; and yet the armies were not numerous. Emeri, an obscure Italian, rapacious and prodigal, superintendant of the finances, had recourse to money edicts, which were the more odious as some of them were ridiculous. The money due to the magistrates was not paid, some quarters of the annuities were retrenched, murmurs broke out, the parliament made opposition, and the sedition was ready to be kindled. An *arrêt* of union between the sovereign courts of Paris, which had been just passed by the parliament, gave the minister uneasiness, and was annulled by the council. The magistrates, maintaining that their union contained nothing reprehensible, 'the king must be obeyed,' said Mazarin. 'If he forbid wearing tassels to band-strings, it is less the nature of the thing prohibited, than the prohibition, which constitutes the crime.' We would imagine that he was preaching up blind obedience to a set of monks. His absurd discourse and faulty pronunciation exposed him to the keen shafts of ridicule. He was lampooned in ballads; and the factious, joining contempt to hatred, increased in audacity.

The parliament, forgetting the bounds of its jurisdiction, abolished the intendants of the provinces, who were instituted by Louis XIII.;

Occasion  
of the  
barricades.  
1648.

and the court being filled with indignation, resolved to strike a decisive blow. During the celebration of *Te Deum* for the victory at Lens, a president and a counsellor, who distinguished themselves in the debates, were arrested by order of the cardinal; upon which the people rose, threw chains across the streets, fired upon the chancellor's coach, formed barricadoes, killed some soldiers, and the two prisoners were restored.

After the ministry gave this proof of their weakness, violent commotions were to be expected. The coadjutor to the archbishop of Paris, afterwards cardinal de Retz, a man of a restless, intriguing, seditious, and libertine character, encouraged the enemies of the court, inflamed the people, drew on the parliament, and soon kindled a civil war. The *Frondeurs*, the name given to the rebels, forced the queen-regent to retire to St Germain with the young king. They were headed by the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, the dukes of Longueville, Beaufort-Vendome, and Bouillon. Condé, though discontented, sided with the court, and blocked up the capital, where the parliament raised an army.

The most remarkable thing in this war is the ridicule with which it was accompanied. Every thing became a subject for jests and ballads. The women set the fashion, and played a prominent part. They ordered the men to fight for or against the king. The duchess de Longueville, sister of Condé, made a rebel of the virtuous Turenne. The duke de la Rochefoucault, celebrated for his Moral Maxims, stained his own

The  
coadjutor  
heads  
the  
revolters.

Ridicule  
and  
gallantry in  
the  
civil war.

reputation by these verses, in honour of the same princess :

Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,  
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurois faite aux dieux. \*

From the time of Francis I., that spirit of frivolous gallantry had constantly influenced public affairs; and what evils must it not have produced, in proportion as the manners were enervated by effeminacy, and corrupted by avarice and prodigality!

The  
princes  
arrested.  
1650.

In 1649, a seeming accommodation took place; a general amnesty was published, and the court returned to Paris. But the following year the prince of Condé, who despised the cardinal, and whose pretensions knew no bounds, was arrested, together with the prince of Conti and the duke de Longueville. Mazarin could not have resolved upon a bolder stroke. On this occasion the people gave a remarkable proof of their natural levity, by celebrating with bonfires the imprisonment of those men whom they had honoured as their fathers and defenders. This triumph of the minister was of short duration, because his prudence forsook him. Thinking himself now secure from danger, he affronted Gaston, duke of Orleans, a man always ready to change sides; and provoked the *Frondeurs*, who still breathed sedition. Upon which the parliament demanded the release of the three

1651.  
Mazarin  
banished.

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\* These verses, the badness of which corresponds with their implety, may be thus translated :

To merit her heart, and to please her bright eyes,  
He revolts from his king, and his God he defies.



princes, and passed sentence of perpetual banishment against the cardinal, who went in person to discharge the illustrious prisoners, in hopes of attaching them to his interests, but received from them only marks of contempt. He then retired to Liege, and afterwards to Cologne, from whence he governed the queen-regent as absolutely as if he had not quitted the court. At last Condé revolted, but Turenne was become a royalist. Thus the heroes of their country attacked and defended it alternately, as they were hurried away by a kind of infatuation, or brought back by motives of interest, or a sense of duty.

Mazarin, like Concini, returned into the kingdom with a small army, when the parliament fulminated against him an arrêt of proscription, and promised fifty thousand crowns for his head, taking a precedent from the sum fixed upon the head of Admiral Coligni in an age of fanaticism. The madness was carried to such a pitch, that they deputed some of their body to take an information against the minister's army. By another arrêt, the prince of Condé was declared a state-criminal; for contradictions spring up in multitudes, from the spirit of party and cabal. Louis XIV. being now of age, ordered the parliament to remove to Pontoise, and a few of the members obeyed, but the greater part remained. Thus there were two parliaments.

The king, his mother, and his minister, wandered about the provinces, and had very near been seized at Gien on the Loire by the prince of Condé, who surprised the marechal d'Houquincourt, but they were saved by the abilities

He  
returns.  
Arrêt  
against  
the  
great Conde.

1652.  
Conde and  
Turenne  
opposed  
to  
each other.

of Turenne ; and the court, under the protection of its defender, took the road to Paris, where the battle of St Anthony was fought in the suburb of that name. The two generals did wonders on that occasion, and victory declared for the royal army ; when Mademoiselle, daughter of the duke of Orleans, caused the cannon of the Bastile to be fired, which forced Turenne to retreat.

End of  
the Fronde.

As the hatred against the minister seemed implacable, the king consented to his removal, and dismissed him, after making his encomium in a declaration. The Parisians joyfully opened their gates to the sovereign, and the face of affairs was entirely changed. The duke of Orleans went to end his days in banishment. The cardinal de Retz, who had been the chief author of the disturbances, was imprisoned. Condé, being unsuccessful in his rebellion, had joined the Spaniards ; but that circumstance did not in the least affect the tranquillity of Paris. To the storms of the *Fronde* succeeded so still a calm, that, in the beginning of the year 1653, Mazarin again appeared peaceably at court, resumed all his authority, and saw himself courted by every body, even by the parliament ; a conclusion worthy of an absurd war, the history of which, as was observed by Condé, after he had played his part in it, deserved only to be written in burlesque verse. The faction of that prince had been called the party of the *petits-maitres*, because they wanted to make themselves masters of the state. Voltaire observes, that the name of *petits-maitres*, now applied to overbearing and ill-educated young men, and that of *frondeurs*, bestowed on the censurers of govern-

ment, are the only vestiges remaining of those troubles. It is not to be doubted that the Italian minister laughed in his heart at the French giddiness, and certainly saw with pleasure a levity so favourable to his views.

Weak as the Spaniards were, they had found means to turn the dissensions of France to their advantage. In 1652 they retook Barcelona, after a siege of fifteen months, wrested Casal from the duke of Savoy, gained over the duke of Mantua by reinstating him in the possession of that town, and stormed Gravelines and Dunkirk. The fruit of Condé's former victories was entirely lost; and he himself being in arms against his country, would have exposed it to the greatest dangers, had not Turenne fought in its defence. These two rivals drew upon themselves the eyes of all Europe. Turenne had been beaten at Rhetel, in 1650, by the *maréchal du Plessis-Praslin*, when he fought for the Spaniards; but, in the cause of his king and of his country, he always appeared invincible.

Advantages  
gained by  
the  
Spaniards  
during  
the  
civil wars.

He marched to the relief of Arras, which was besieged by the archduke Leopold and the prince of Condé, forced their lines, put the archduke to flight, and left Condé only the glory of making an admirable retreat. Mazarin, who was at some leagues distance, exposed himself to the greatest ridicule, by claiming the honour of that campaign.

1654.  
Arras saved  
by  
Turenne.

Cromwell, stained with the blood of Charles I., made England flourish, as we shall soon have occasion to relate. France and Spain both courted his alliance, and thus betrayed

Treaty  
of  
France  
with  
Cromwell.

the majesty of kings to serve their own interests. The cardinal, by dint of complaisance, it may even be said meanness, succeeded in this negotiation, and concluded a treaty in 1655, on condition of causing Charles II. and the duke of York, the grandsons of Henry IV., to quit the kingdom. No notice was taken of the outcries of the Spaniards, who ought to have been silent, as they had condescended to act a similar part; and the French ministry reaped the fruits of this advantageous alliance.

Sequel  
of the war.

Valenciennes, besieged by the marechals Turenne and La Ferté, was relieved, in 1656, by the prince of Condé, in conjunction with Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. A dyke, which served as a communication between the quarters of the two marechals, being broken, the enemy forced La Ferté's lines; but Turenne saved the army, and took Capelle some time after. In 1657 he laid siege to Cambray, which he was forced to raise, Condé having thrown himself into the place with eighteen squadrons.

Battle  
of Dunes.  
Taking  
of Dunkirk.  
1658.

The following campaign was decisive in favour of the French arms. The port of Dunkirk was blocked up by twenty sail of English men of war, while Turenne, who had a body of six thousand English troops in his army, invested that city. Don John and Condé marching to its relief, the marechal attacked them near Dunes, and gained a complete victory, which the prince of Condé had predicted, when he saw the bad dispositions that were made against his will. It is not to be doubted, but,

on that occasion, his haughty soul was more than ever stung with the state of dependence to which he had been subjected by his deplorable imprudence. Dunkirk capitulated ; and the English took possession of it, as had been agreed upon with Cromwell. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ipres, and Grave-lines, successively fell into the hands of the French ; and Spain, crushed by the weight of the war, turned her thoughts on peace.

Two interesting objects present themse lve before the negociations of the Pyrenees. Cromwell's government in England, and the abdication of the famous Christina, queen of Sweden. By placing them here, we shall follow the order of events, and avoid digressions, which, in the sequel, would have led us from our purpose.

## CHAPTER III.

## COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND UNDER CROMWELL.

*Difference of the civil war in France and England.* **A**T the time that the Fronde was carrying on its ridiculous cabals, Charles I. was condemned by his subjects, and beheaded in 1649. I thought it proper to give a continued account of his misfortunes in the preceding epoch. The English carried on the civil war with fury ; the French with contemptible levity. The reason is, that, besides their different national characters, the object and circumstances of the war were, in every respect, entirely unlike. In England, the design was either utterly to destroy the regal power, or to confine its prerogative within very narrow limits. In France, the only thing wanted, was to get rid of a foreign minister, who was an object of detestation. In the one country the malecontents were transported with atrocious fanaticism ; in the other, the coadjutor himself did not employ the least pretext of religion. In the first, a genius equally vast, profound, and resolute, contrived and executed their enterprises ; in the second, there was no leader

that had a fixed plan, or was capable of pursuing one with constancy and vigour. To bring about the revolution in England, an Oliver Cromwell was necessary ; and he stood in need of fanatics animated with his own spirit.

This extraordinary man was born of a good family, but poor, illiterate, and unpolished. After a youth of debauchery, he turned rigorist and enthusiast, and, though full of absurd and superstitious notions, possessed all the talents of a politician and general ; particularly that of reading the characters of other men, inspiring them with his own passions, and making them subservient to his designs. Cromwell had been unknown till the age of forty-four, when the town of Cambridge chose him for their representative in parliament. Being incapable of moderation, and a violent opponent of the royal cause, having nothing in his mouth but the devout extravagances of fanaticism, he soon procured himself a name in the sect of the Puritans. His exploits, by degrees, raised him to the command of the army ; and he managed men's minds with such dexterity, made such a judicious use of every opportunity, that he became the oracle and master of those fiery republicans, whose audacity overturned the laws as well as the throne.

Character  
of  
Cromwell.

After the king was beheaded, the house of commons, which consisted only of about four-score madmen, abolished the house of peers, and declared that the monarchy no longer subsisted. Cromwell went to subdue Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond still defended the good cause. He took by assault the town of Tredagh, put the garrison, which was numerous,

He  
subdues the  
Irish.

to the sword, and spread so great terror and despair, that more than forty thousand Irish left their country, to enter into the service of foreign princes. That people, who, in 1644 had been stirred up by a pope's nuncio to rebel against the king, had afterwards shown themselves sincere royalists, perhaps out of hatred to the Presbyterians.

Afterwards  
the  
Scots.  
Battle  
of  
Dunbar.  
1650.

Scotland was soon after subjected to the yoke. The generous marquis of Montrose, who had persisted in his fidelity to the crown, had been excommunicated in that country as a rebel to the *Covenant*, afterwards hanged, and his limbs fixed up in the principal towns. Yet Charles II., the heir of his father's throne, cast himself into the arms of the Scots, because he had no other resource. He submitted to the humiliating terms imposed by their fanatical zeal; but, being more a slave than a king among them, he had scarce a shadow of authority. The parliament's forces marched against them, under the command of Cromwell. The Scots, who were entrenched on the hills, might have conquered without fighting; but their clergymen, by prophesying a more glorious victory, forced general Lesly to march down and give battle, when Cromwell routed them at the first onset; and that battle, which was fought at Dunbar, ruined the hopes of Charles. He was not in the action; for the clergy being dissatisfied with his conduct, he had been recalled from the camp, where he made himself the idol of the soldiers.

Battle  
of  
Worcester.

The next year, the king being obliged to take flight, boldly passed into England, while his oppressor was completing the conquest of



Scotland. He was not expected ; and his adherents assembled in amazement, without having taken any precaution. Cromwell, upon this, redoubled his activity, assembled the militia, and, joining them to his troops, attacked the king in Worcester, which he forced with dreadful slaughter. The unfortunate Charles fled in disguise, concealed himself a whole day in an oak, and wandered forty days in the midst of his enemies ; at least nobody had the weakness to betray him, notwithstanding so many motives to turn traitor ; and he found a vessel to convey him into France, 1651.

Fairfax, the parliament's general, had resigned the command before the expedition into Scotland, making a scruple of breaking the *Covenant*, that sacred league of the fanatics of both nations. The artful Cromwell, who knew him to be inflexible in his notions, affected to dissuade him warmly from his designed resignation, and had duped men, of simple minds, by an hypocritical moderation. Being now invested with the generalship, and master of the army, in whom the whole power was centred, he watched the favourable moment for rising yet higher.

Cromwell  
general  
in  
chief.

The English republic, for the tyrants assumed that majestic title, soon showed herself formidable to her neighbours. She quarrelled with Holland, whose trade excited her jealousy ; and, by the famous *act of navigation*, foreigners were prohibited from importing any merchandise which was not the growth of their soil, or the produce of their manufactures. This was cutting off almost all the branches of the Dutch trade in England, and obliging the English to

English  
common:  
wealth.  
*Navigation*  
act.

cultivate maritime commerce. Accordingly, nothing has more contributed to the prosperity of that nation.

War with  
Holland.

The states-general fruitlessly strove to prevent a war by negotiation. It was declared; and, though they had a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, though their admirals, Tromp and Ruyter, performed wonders of skill and courage, the English had a clear superiority. This they owed principally to the size of the vessels built during the last reign. A strange fatality, that the tax of ship-money, which was so beneficial from the application made of it by Charles, should have served as a pretence for the rebellion, and afterwards been a means of rendering the nation triumphant.

Cromwell  
dissolves  
the  
parliament.  
1652.

These advantages inspiring the parliament, they attempted to shake off the yoke of the army, and free themselves from the tyranny of Cromwell, who then displayed all the vigour of his character. Knowing that they were going to pass a vote contrary to his views, he hastened to the parliament house, followed by three hundred soldiers, insulted that assembly, and loaded it with bitter reproaches. *Fie! withdraw*, cried he, *you are no longer a parliament, the Lord hath cast you off!* He made the members go out one after the other, calling them *drunkards, thieves, whoremasters*; after which he locked up the house, and retired without fear. His own friends could not have believed him capable of an action so prodigiously bold, to which nothing parallel has ever been seen.

He  
establishes  
another,

To leave the nation some shadow of liberty, he formed another parliament, composed of fa-

natics and the dregs of the people. This parliament, after having *sought the Lord in prayer*, fell into a fit of delirium so strong, that they declared the universities and sciences pagan institutions, and wanted to establish the Mosaic law as the basis of the English jurisprudence. At last they made themselves so contemptible, that Cromwell determined to dissolve them, which he did without any difficulty.

and  
dissolves it.

It was then that the council of war bestowed on him the title of Protector, which had been usual in minorities, with the right of administering justice, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, with a standing army of thirty thousand men. The Protector was only obliged to take the advice of a council, to assemble the parliament every three years, and to keep it assembled five full months, 1653. The English then had a master much more formidable than the last kings. The expenses of the public were enormous, and the nation murmured.

The title  
of  
Protector  
bestowed on  
him.

When the parliament met, they wanted to examine the title of protector bestowed by the council of war; but Cromwell soon forced them to acknowledge his authority, and even dissolved these rash men before the expiration of the prescribed five months.

New  
parliament  
enslaved.  
1654.

If the protector oppressed the state, at least he made it respected abroad. He obliged Holland to yield the vain honour of the flag, for which a bloody war had been carried on. He ordered the execution of the Portuguese ambassador's brother, who had been guilty of a murder, and afterwards signed a treaty with the king of Portugal, upon terms advantageous

Cromwell  
made  
the state  
respected.

to England. Being courted by the ministers of France and Spain, he declared in favour of the first of those crowns; and the English took Jamaica from the Spaniards; an acquisition of immense value, from the situation of that island, and still more from the plantations, which have enriched it even by its own products.

Blake  
a  
great man.

The following year, admiral Blake burnt a Spanish fleet at the Canaries, notwithstanding the fire of a castle and seven redoubts. A great man and a good patriot, he served the state without loving Cromwell. *We ought to fight for our country, said he, into whatever hands it be fallen.* He was equally esteemed by all parties, which is one of the strongest proofs of extraordinary merit.

Mazarin  
flatters  
Cromwell.

We have seen in what manner the protector got possession of Dunkirk. It must be added, that Louis XIV., or Mazarin, deputed to him the duke of Crequi and the duke of Nevers, Mancini, the cardinal's nephew. This prime minister of France, in a letter quoted by Voltaire, assures Cromwell, that *he is sorry not to have it in his power to pay in person the honours due to the greatest man in the world.* How low will men descend, from motives of political interest!

A  
desile  
parliament.

Cromwell, in order to rivet his power, was desirous of fixing to it the seal of the laws; and his glorious administration made him hope to meet with success. In 1657, he called a parliament, which he found ready to second his inclinations, after he had excluded such members as he suspected. The rights of the house of Stuart were immediately annulled; after which

it was proposed to confer the title of king upon the protector; and that extraordinary bill being passed, by a majority of voices, commissioners were deputed to offer him the crown.

Though this was what he long had in view, yet he refused it, either from a dread of conspiracies, deference to the advice of his friends, or regard to the generous sentiments of his son-in-law and brother-in-law, who declared their resolution to throw up their employments, if he accepted the royalty. The parliament, therefore, confirmed his former title; to which they added a perpetual revenue, and the right of naming his successor. Even this parliament was dissolved, like the others, when it ceased to show itself the slave of an ill-disguised despotism.

Cromwell  
refuses  
the  
crown.

Voltaire has made a reflection on that subject, which is, perhaps, rather ingenious than solid. 'Cromwell, an usurper, worthy of a throne, had assumed the title of Protector, not that of king; because the English knew how far the regal prerogatives ought to extend, but were not acquainted with the limits of the protectoral authority.' The army, which gave him that title, detested the name of king; for what reason, then, should he have assumed it? and when the last parliament offered it to him, his confidants and relations used every imaginable argument to hinder him from accepting it. If that name tempted his pride, it would, in fact, have added nothing to his power.

Thought  
of  
Voltaire on  
that  
subject.

But an important spectacle, which ought to make an indelible impression on the ambitious,

Death of  
the  
Protector.

and at least serve as a consolation to the oppressed, is that of Cromwell, a prey to chagrin, and the terrors to which tyranny gives birth; feared by his own daughters, dreading to be assassinated in the midst of his guards, armed with a cuirass and a number of offensive weapons; never daring to lie three nights in the same chamber. His disquiet brought on a mortal disease. In vain did he prophesy his recovery; for either he still wanted to deceive mankind, or was himself deceived by fanaticism. Having at last named his eldest son Richard to succeed him, he died, in 1658, at the age of fifty-nine, the same day that he had gained the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

Singularities  
of this  
extraordinary  
man.

A few features will complete the picture of this extraordinary personage. When invested with supreme power, he still preserved his austerity of manners. After sacrificing every thing to his unfeeling ambition, he was a rigid observer of justice. Though enthusiasm was the chief instrument by which he effected his designs, he laughed with the deists at the folly of the sectaries; and frequently curbed the Puritans, those fanatics whose zeal had been the prime mover of the revolution. On the other side, he was in general tolerant, and even the deists, whom he styled atheists, lived in peace around him. Their number increased every day; because, unhappily, nothing is more proper to make men infidels, than the extravagances and excesses at that time so common under the name of religion. When the human mind has no rule, it avoids one rock, only to cast itself upon another.

Among the sects with which England was overrun, are distinguished the Quakers, founded by George Fox, a shoemaker's apprentice. Wanting to follow the gospel literally, as has been the common madness of enthusiasts, they trampled on the rules of decorum, and the received customs of social intercourse. Every oath appeared to them criminal; they made it a point of religion to use the word *thou*, when they spoke to persons of whatever rank, and refused to admit either priests or sacraments. Their name expresses the convulsions into which they threw themselves, in order to receive the holy spirit. As they forbid the use of arms, their fanaticism was the least dangerous of any. Recovered now from their delirium, they preserve the same fund of virtue and simplicity, integrity, plaindealing, mildness, patience, love of justice and peace, while they have got rid of their ridiculous practices; and perhaps the singularity of their manner contributes, in some degree, to the maintenance of their virtues; because people readily contract the vices of society when they have nothing to distinguish or separate them from the multitude. Pennsylvania, which is principally inhabited by Quakers, is the mansion of happiness.

The  
Quakers at  
first  
fanatics.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father without opposition, but had neither the genius nor resolution necessary for so high a station. Being a man of mild character and simple manners, upright, unambitious, and free from fanaticism, he was from the beginning the sport of factions. The parliament which he assembled began to give him uneasiness, and the army gave him more. Some of the principal of-

Short  
protectorate  
of  
Richard  
Cromwell.

ficers, and even his brother-in-law Fleetwood, formed cabals against his authority, and tumultuously demanded the dissolution of the parliament, which had forbidden their seditious meetings. Having consented to this, through weakness, he found himself without any support, and abdicated in 1659, to live in the obscurity of peaceful retirement. His brother, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in like manner threw up all his employments. Thus disappeared in a moment the family of that usurper, who had governed his commonwealth with the authority of a despot, and refused the title of king.

The  
Rump  
a shadow  
of a  
parliament.

The council of war remaining in possession of the power, and desirous of seeming to pay respect to the laws, again collected the remains of the long parliament, which had been dissolved by Cromwell after the judicial murder of Charles I. This assembly, which consisted of about forty members, was so contemptible, and so contemned, that it was called the *Rump*. Attempting to act with the authority of a parliament, it offended the council of war, and was at once destroyed.

Unhappy  
state  
of  
England.

Thus so many efforts for freedom, so many struggles against the royal prerogative, so many crimes consecrated by religious madness, so great an appearance of patriotic or republican zeal, had plunged the English nation, not only into the horrors of a civil war, but a state of dreadful slavery. After the death of the king, every thing had been managed by the power of the sword, which made the basis of the government, fettered the laws, forced them to be silent, and dishonoured the nation in the midst



of its trophies. The imposts, one year with another, amounted to more than twelve millions sterling, a revenue to which the crown had never raised any thing nearly equal, Cromwell's expenses, only for spies and secret intelligence, are estimated at no less than sixty thousand pounds a year. He had left two millions of debts, though a great economist, and extremely attentive to the disposal of the public money. An army of more than fifty thousand men, whose pay was a shilling for every foot soldier, and half a crown for every horseman, devoured the vitals of the nation, in order to enslave it, instead of being its defenders. These misfortunes, almost inseparable from such a revolution, opened the eyes even of the Presbyterians, and convinced them, that, to overturn the throne, was to ruin the nation. They were therefore desirous of restoring the royal family, and the other party longed for it with still more eagerness. We shall see the new revolution brought about in 1660.

## CHAPTER IV.

## REIGN AND ABDICATION OF CHRISTINA QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

*Design  
of  
this chapter.*

**A** YOUNG queen fond of literature and the fine arts, sacrificing to that passion her crown, and perhaps her religion, forms a remarkable contrast with the ignorance, savage manners, violent fanaticism, and sanguinary ambition of Cromwell. Christina, queen of Sweden, daughter and heiress of Gustavus Adolphus, the conqueror of Germany, upon that account becomes an object worthy of our curiosity. I shall, therefore, collect into a single picture the circumstances of her life that are most important to be known; with this caution, that we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by deceitful appearances nor suspicious encomiums. It is the province of history to pass sentence upon men, especially princes, according to the light in which their conduct appears after a strict and impartial scrutiny.

*Beginning  
of  
Christina's  
reign.*

When Gustavus fell at the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, his daughter was only six years of age, and the regency of Sweden trusted the ma-

management of affairs to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man capable of prosecuting the great designs formed by that hero. The mind of the young queen was cultivated by learned preceptors, while the Swedes, by their courage and discipline, struck terror into the Imperial court. Being endowed with a penetrating genius and retentive memory, she soon appeared a prodigy; reading the Greek authors, and acquiring a knowledge of every thing, except what ought to have attached her to the duties of the crown; or, if she did learn it, no lesson was sooner forgotten.

The illustrious Grotius, whom we have seen persecuted in Holland, as well as Barneveldt, for the senseless controversy of the Gomarists and Arminians, not having met, in France, with the treatment from Richelieu which he deserved, had found an honourable asylum in Sweden; and was sent, by the chancellor Oxenstiern, ambassador to that very court where Richelieu erected himself into a despotic judge, even of genius. This was a circumstance the more mortifying to the French minister, as Grotius supported the dignity of his character with spirit. Christina reposed the same confidence in him, that had been done by the chancellor Oxenstiern. She was, above all, worthy to pay honour to literary merit.

Grotius  
in  
France and  
in  
Sweden.

When she was of age to take the reins into her own hands, her minority ending at the age of sixteen, she applied herself to business; but at last her ruling passion prevailed. Letters, the arts, and every thing which gives a lustre to social life, had, for her, almost invincible charms. The peace of Westphalia was, at least,

The  
queen's  
passion for  
letters.

one happy fruit of this predilection. Oxenstiern pressed the continuation of the war; and the misunderstanding between the two Swedish plenipotentiaries retarded the conclusion of the treaty; but all delays were cut off by the queen's absolute commands.

The  
court filled  
with  
learned men.  
Descartes  
dies  
there.

This conduct was worthy of the highest commendations, had it proceeded from a desire of doing good to Europe, and particularly Sweden; but the contrary was demonstrated by experience. To enjoy repose, and give herself up to the amusements suited to her inclination, were all that Christina had at heart. Her court was filled with learned men, the greatest part of whom ought to have been left in the dust of their closet. Descartes injudiciously suffered himself to be attracted among the rest, either by the reputation of that princess, or the vanity of ranking her in the number of his disciples, where the change of life and the rigour of the climate killed him in a few months.

The  
Swedes  
discontent:  
ed.

A warlike nation, elated by its victories, and still animated with zeal for Luther's reformation; a senate renowned for profound policy; in a word, the Swedes, in general, were displeased at seeing the daughter of the great Gustavus disdaining the cares of royalty, giving herself up to a barren philosophy, to researches of erudition, the study of the learned languages, a passion for medals, statues, and pictures, interludes and magnificent festivals; and lavishing the finances on superfluities and men of mean talents. It was thought, with reason, that a taste for such things does honour to a sovereign only when he does not suffer them to come in competition with his duties,

and keeps them in subordination to the essential benefit of the people.

The Swedes ardently desired, that the queen would marry, and, at least, give an heir to the crown ; but, like the famous Elizabeth of England, she was too fond of liberty to give her consent. Why did she not imitate the same Elizabeth in her application to the labours of government ? She would then have been more admired for her erudition.

Christina  
refuses  
to  
marry.

Charles Gustavus, Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, Christina's cousin, was the husband pointed out for her by the public wishes. But being resolved to live single, she gladly named him her successor in 1650 ; and this step made Sweden more easy. That prince politically kept at a distance from court, and from business, dissembling his ambition for the throne, yet gaining the affections of the people, to make them wish for his reign. Christina being again solicited to marry, declared to the senate, in 1651, a resolution to abdicate the crown ; but it is difficult to believe this declaration sincere ; and the senators, from a dread lest they should fall into some mistake, conjured her to relinquish that design ; she yielded to their entreaties, upon condition that she should no longer be pressed to marry. In a conjuncture so critical, Charles Gustavus acted with as great reserve as the senate.

She names  
the  
Count  
Palatine.  
her  
successor.

Notwithstanding the masculine spirit and character of the queen, she had a tincture of fickleness and caprice. Michon, a French physician, who took the name of Bourdelot, because his uncle, by the mother's side, who bore that name, was known in the class of literati,

Michon  
and  
Pimentel  
favourites  
of  
Christina.

gained her whole confidence to such a degree, that he made her lose her relish for study. Pimentel, the Spanish minister, having wormed out this odious favourite, in his turn enjoyed the greatest share of her good graces, and revived the passion for letters, by extolling her genius in the most flattering strains. An ambassador from Cromwell, negotiating with Sweden, complained, that in his audiences he could hear of nothing but philosophy and interludes. France, and even Sweden, took so great umbrage at Pimentel's credit, that at last he was discharged.

She  
which was  
in  
disgrace in  
1654.

Wearied more than ever with business, sighing for the pleasure of living at liberty with learned men, a prey to the melancholy produced by the disgust and necessity of discharging her duties, thinking, to use her own expression, that *she saw the devil* when her secretaries came into her presence with their papers, Christina resumed in earnest her project of abdication, and declared that resolution at the opening of the assembly of the states at Upsal, in 1654: to which they gave their consent, after a slight opposition for the sake of decorum. They secured to her a revenue on some domains of which she could not obtain the sovereignty. Charles Gustavus refused to reign without enjoying the full rights of the crown, and he found means to gain it without incurring the suspicion of ingratitude.

Mr. Burn  
says  
the French  
ambassador

'I give myself no uneasiness about the *placets*,' said Christina, in her letter to the French ambassador Chanut: 'it is seldom that a manly and vigorous design can please every body; I shall be satisfied with the approbation of a

single person, and even that I am willing to forego. What pleasure will it be to reflect, that I have done good to mankind!' Why, then, says M. d'Alembert, in his *Miscellanies*, would she cease to do it? That philosopher seems to have formed a just estimate of this princess, who has been too much extolled, either by declaiming panegyrists or men of genius, who have considered her only in one point of view.

In a letter to the prince of Condé she said, Another letter to the great Condé.  
 'I will never stain an action which appeared to me so noble by a mean regret; and if it should meet with your disapprobation, I will allege, as the only excuse, that I would never have resigned the gifts which fortune bestowed on me, had I thought them necessary to my happiness; and that I would have aspired to the empire of the world, had I been equally sure of succeeding, or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé.' When Voltaire quoted this letter, he might have observed, that she, notwithstanding, did repent; that she wished to reascend the throne; and that the extravagant idea of *the empire of the world*, is far from being consistent with the abdication. She preferred living with men who could think, says that celebrated historian, to the government of a people without literature, and void of genius. But is there any thing more worthy of a great soul, than giving happiness to a people? And were the literati, in quest of whom Christina travelled so far, much greater proficient in thinking than the Swedes? The medal which she caused to be struck with this inscription, *Parnassus excels the throne*, shows a love for letters, but not

a love of mankind. Let us follow her to her Parnassus.

Her  
departure  
and  
dignation.

After stripping the palace of all the most valuable effects, she set out in man's apparel; and when she arrived on the borders of Denmark, cried out, *Now, at last, I am free and out of Sweden, in which I hope that I shall never more set my foot!* an expression that indicates ill humour. She embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly abjured Lutheranism at Inspruck. The Catholics would have had less reason to triumph on account of this change of profession, had they reflected on the passion which drew her to Rome, the centre of the fine arts, and the place where she designed to fix her residence. The Protestants accused her of acting only on worldly motives. Perhaps party spirit influenced the judgment of both sides; and party spirit ordinarily judgeth ill.

Her  
very intention  
into  
France.  
Murder  
of  
her grand  
opportunity.

Rome did not so charm Christina as to prevent a desire of seeing, or being seen, in France, to which she took a journey in 1656. Not being much relished at the gallant court of Louis XIV., she visited the literati of Paris; but the person whom she most distinguished was Menage, who at present is hardly known, except by name. Scarcely was she returned to Rome, when she wished again to be in France, to which she paid a second visit in 1657, when she dishonoured herself by the murder of Monaldeschi, her master of the horse, whom she caused to be assassinated in the gallery at Fontainebleau, probably in a fit of jealousy upon account of an intrigue. Being looked upon with abhorrence by the French, after this infamous action, which



yet found apologists, Christina returned to Rome to admire antiques and statues.

Charles X., her successor, dying in 1660, after a series of ruinous wars with Poland and Denmark, she took a journey into her old kingdom, with a desire to remount the throne. But the Swedes obliged her to make another solemn renunciation. Some years after, she again travelled into Sweden; and, having met with no better success, went back to Rome, where she died in 1689. So frequent changes of place prove, that, with a good share of wit and learning, she had been mistaken in seeking happiness out of her own sphere.

Her  
two journeys  
into  
Sweden.

Being a queen without dominions, little respect was paid to her in a capital where the value of every thing is fixed by politics or interest. She even had not sufficient freedom to express herself, without disguise, on the motion of the earth round the sun. On the contrary, she there maintained the pope's infallibility with all the zeal of a theologian, though she was candid enough to blame the persecutions inflicted on the Calvinists in France.

Not much  
respected  
at  
Rome.

## CHAPTER V.

PEACE OF THE PYRENEES IN 1659, AND OF OLIVA IN  
1660. RESTORATION OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHY.  
DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Inter:  
regnum  
after  
the death of  
Ferdinand  
III.

THE decline of the Austrian power gave France a superiority, which, from this period, will produce the most memorable events. The death of the emperor Ferdinand III., in 1657, was followed by an interregnum in the empire, which lasted fifteen months. His eldest son, whom he had caused to be elected king of the Romans, was dead, and his other son Leopold, king of Hungary and Bohemia, found a competitor in Louis XIV. Four electors at first destined the crown to that monarch. Had Mazarin succeeded in the negociation, what would have become of Germany? But the other electors making a warm opposition, the elector of Bavaria was proposed, and France offered to support him. However, that prince refused. His mother, who was sister to Ferdinand III., prevailed on him to make this generous sacrifice in favour of the house of Austria. The diet was so disturbed by factions, that there was every appearance of a schism.

At last Leopold was elected in 1658, to which the French ambassadors consented, after causing him to be subjected to the hardest conditions; for he was obliged not to take any share in the war between France and Spain, not even in quality of duke of Austria. The fear of again falling under a despotic government, wrought with irresistible influence on distrustful minds. It produced *the alliance of the Rhine*, between the three ecclesiastical electors, the bishop of Munster, the palatine of Neuburg, the dukes of Brunswick Lunenburg, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, on one part, and Sweden on the other, inviolably to maintain the treaty of Westphalia. France soon acceded to that league; but the elector of Treves and the bishop of Munster separated from it, because it was condemned by the court of Rome. Ought they not to have foreseen this when they entered into their contract? The alliance of the Rhine was renewed several times till 1666; by which means France almost governed the empire. Yet Leopold, who was a wise and circumspect prince, necessarily acquired, by degrees, a considerable share of authority, during a reign which lasted forty-seven years.

Election  
of  
Leopold.  
Alliance  
of  
the Rhine.

We have seen Spain, by her obstinate continuance of the war, lose the advantages she had reaped from the cabals of the Fronde, obliged to oppose the united efforts of France, England, and Portugal, and at last vanquished on every side, in 1658. Two years before, Mazarin had made an overture for peace to Philip IV., by proposing a match between the infanta Maria Theresa and Louis; but Philip being

Negotiations for  
a  
peace with  
Spain.

then without an heir male that had any probability of coming to the succession, designed his daughter for the archduke Leopold, and therefore refused the offer. After the battle of Dunes, the same motive no longer subsisting, and besides, the war being become insupportable, the infanta was promised to the king, and the negotiations were renewed in the Isle of Pheasants, situated on the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

1666.  
Mazarin  
and  
de Haro in  
the  
Isle of  
Pheasants.

There cardinal Mazarin displayed his whole address. Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish minister, in treating with him, suspected him every moment of a design to deceive, and opposed to him the delays of distrust. Accordingly, it was three months before the negotiation was concluded. The ceremonial alone took up a vast deal of time; as if the purpose of the meeting had been to settle the rights of precedence, not to conclude peace between states. Notwithstanding the artifices of Mazarin, the Spaniard obtained an entire equality.

Treaty of  
the  
Pyrenees.

The principal articles of this treaty were, That the infanta should be given to Louis XIV., with a portion of five hundred thousand gold crowns, two millions five hundred thousand livres, and that princess obliged to renounce the rights which she might one day have to the crown of Spain; several towns to be restored on both sides, but France to keep the territory of Rousillon, and part of Artois; the prince of Condé to be reestablished, and received into favour. Mazarin did not consent to this article, till after much opposition. He dreaded that Spain would grant the prince some towns in the Low Countries. Charles

IV. to be again put in possession of his dominions, on condition of his keeping on foot no army, and that the town of Nanci should be dismantled. This fickle prince had equally irritated both crowns.

Mazarin had, for a long time, projected the marriage of the infanta as a great stroke of politics; foreseeing that renunciations would be useless, if the succession should be open, which was likewise done by Philip IV. and his minister; but there was no appearance that the Spanish monarchy would fail from the want of heirs.

Marriage  
of  
the Infanta.

The war was ended in the south of Europe by the treaty of the Pyrenees, and peace was restored to the north by the treaty of Oliva, concluded the year following. The pretensions of Casimir, king of Poland, upon Sweden, after the abdication of Christina, had kindled a bloody war. Charles X., in imitation of the great Gustavus, first conquered Poland, but again lost it, and was unsuccessful in Denmark. Vexation for these misfortunes had, a little before this period, put an end to his life. The negotiations were already begun under the mediation of France, and the treaty at last concluded, by which Casimir gave up his pretensions. The northern part of Livonia and Esthonia were yielded to Sweden, and she restored Polish Prussia. Some days after, another treaty was signed at Copenhagen, by which Frederic III., king of Denmark, made considerable sacrifices to Sweden.

1660.  
Treaty of  
Oliva.

But, on the other hand, that prince gained more in his own kingdom than he could have done by conquests, if the happiness of sovereigns is to be estimated by the degree of power

Absolute  
power  
granted  
Frederic  
III.

which they have over their subjects. The valour with which he had defended Copenhagen against Charles X., gained him the affection of the nation, at the same time that they detested the injustice of the nobility and the senate, whose power was become tyrannical; for they threw the burden of the taxes on the commons. To avenge themselves on those oppressors, they sacrificed the national liberty to the king. The assembly of the states, in 1660, made the crown entirely hereditary in the house of Frederic, and conferred upon him absolute authority, without its being in the power of the nobility to make an opposition.

That  
power  
combined  
with  
prudence.

It is a thing no less surprising, that the kings of Denmark, though armed with arbitrary power, have used it with prudence and moderation. So much are governments restrained by the manners and customs of a brave people. What other cause can be assigned, or even imagined, for this wonderful fact, in a succession of six kings? We shall see Sweden take nearly the same step in 1680, but, repenting of it, resume her liberty after the death of Charles XII., and establish a new government, which she again changed. A single circumstance may make an universal alteration in political order.

Sudden  
revolution  
in  
England.

The sudden revolution in favour of monarchy, which happened in England, was brought about the same year with that of Denmark. There are few events equally extraordinary. During the negotiations of the treaty of the Pyrenees, Charles II., a fugitive, and destitute of resource, came to Fontarabia to solicit the protection of the two crowns; but they neither deigned to listen to him, nor to mention

his name. He had lost all hope; yet his misfortunes were on the point of being brought to a period.

After Richard Cromwell's abdication, the council of war, as I have mentioned elsewhere, assumed an absolute authority, and assembled the *Rump* to serve as a cover for their tyranny, but soon after turned out that phantom of a parliament. Lambert, by his ambition and boldness, played in the army the same part which had raised Cromwell to the supreme power. But the body of the nation sighed for the restoration of the monarchy, the plan of which a great man formed in secret, and suddenly executed.

The  
council  
of war had  
seized  
the  
government.

George Monk, a celebrated general, virtuous patriot, and wise politician, was governor of Scotland, and declared in favour of the parliament which was driven out by Lambert. On this news, England was thrown into commotion; even whole regiments revolted against the army. The rump reassembled, gave orders, and was obeyed; and Lambert, abandoned by his soldiers, could not defend himself. Monk arrived, without disclosing his attention to any one. He appeared submissive to the parliament, and entered London by their orders. But, joining the city against that odious and contemptible body, he openly reproached them with their tyrannical conduct; and the members that were formerly excluded having been invited to return, those of the rump retired, filled with shame, and a free parliament was called to remedy the evils of the state. Thus, every thing took the most happy turn, and no blood was spilt.

Monk  
assembles a  
free  
parliament.

Restoration  
of the  
monarchy.

Scarcely was the parliament assembled, when an envoy from the king presented himself, and gave in a declaration, by which Charles granted an indemnity to all persons except those whom the parliament should be pleased to pitch upon; promising, besides, full liberty of conscience, and engaging to pay the troops their arrears. Then was the proper time to have fixed the respective rights of the nation and the crown; a measure which every thing seemed to require, after such murderous dissensions; but nothing of this was done. It was believed that the concessions made by Charles I. would sufficiently limit the royal authority; or the people blindly gave themselves up to the desire of being under a lawful government. Charles II. was proclaimed, and received with transports of joy, in 1660.

Charles II.  
ascends  
the throne.

That prince, who was then thirty years of age, mild, amiable, and of a good understanding, might have made himself the idol of his people. Adversity, more proper to form the mind of a sovereign than any other kind of instruction, had given him practical lessons, the use of which is unknown in the pomp and luxury of courts. His clemency saved a multitude of criminals whom the parliament was desirous of excepting from the indemnity. Only Vane and Lambert, two furious republicans, were excluded from taking the benefit of it, together with the parricide judges who had condemned the late king. The execution of eleven persons was reckoned sufficient expiation for the guilt of so many crimes. These criminals signalized their fanaticism to the last; maintained that they had acted by the impulse

Trial  
of some  
republicans.



of the Holy Spirit, and thought themselves martyrs.

The parliament settled on the crown a reve-  
 nue of twelve hundred thousand pounds. The  
 troops were paid and discharged, and only five  
 thousand men, with some garrisons, were re-  
 tained of that dangerous army. This is the  
 first instance of standing forces being kept by  
 the kings of England; and if the people look  
 upon it as an encroachment on their liberties,  
 ought they not to ascribe it to the example of  
 Cromwell? Charles restored Episcopacy even  
 in Scotland; for the Scotch parliament was  
 equally complaisant with the English. The  
 Covenant was annulled; and what appeared  
 just and sacred in the time of the common-  
 wealth, was then deemed worthy of condemna-  
 tion. Nothing was more difficult than to hold  
 the balance between sects always at variance,  
 always obstinate. The Presbyterians soon met  
 with severities sufficient to exasperate them;  
 consequently the seeds of discord still subsist-  
 ed; and we shall see them produce pernicious  
 fruits.

Charles was exposed to misfortunes or vex-  
 ation by two great faults in his character. He  
 was too fond of pleasure, and had no economy.  
 His excessive love of pleasure was inconsistent  
 with the cares of government; and, besides,  
 what vices must it not implant in the court?  
 His want of economy was the more dangerous,  
 as the expenses of the crown exceeded the re-  
 venue, however liberal the parliament at first  
 appeared. Accordingly, after dissipating the  
 portion of his wife, Catharine of Portugal, and  
 two hundred thousand crowns which had been

Every thing  
settled  
at  
the pleasure  
of  
the king.

Two  
great faults  
in  
Charles.

given him by France, he sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV. in 1662, for five millions of livres, at twenty-six livres ten sous the mark of silver. Notwithstanding the prodigious expense of maintaining the garrison, all England murmured at the sale of that place, the acquisition of which was a great advantage to France. \*

Death  
of  
Mazarin.  
1661.

Mazarin was not then alive. He died in 1661, as absolute master of the state as Richelieu had been, displaying the same pomp, though he had at first put on an appearance of modesty; and leaving to his heirs an immense fortune, accumulated by methods which exposed him to just reproaches. He had married two of his nieces, Martinozzi, to the prince of Conti and the duke of Modena. His five other nieces, Mancini, were married, one to the marquis of Meilleraie, who was duke de Mazarin; another to the count de Soissons of the house of Savoy, father of the famous prince Eugene; the third to the duke de Vendome, afterwards cardinal; the fourth, whom the king wanted to espouse, to the constable Colonna; and the youngest to the duke de Bouillon. Mancini, the minister's nephew, was duke of Nevers.

Gained  
reputation  
by  
his treaties.

Such great establishments must doubtless appear burdensome to the nation. Mazarin had not, any more than Richelieu, done France sufficient service to make her think it a happiness to enrich him and his family. But it would be unjust to refuse him the eulogiums he deserves for the treaties of Westphalia and the Py-

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\* Price of Dunkirk 400,000*l*.

renees; the title of peace-maker is glorious, and the wars which were put an end to by these treaties, had caused many miseries, devastations, and massacres!

'When we read the letters of cardinal Mazarin,' says M. de Voltaire, 'and the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, we clearly perceive that Retz was the superior genius, yet Mazarin was all-powerful, and Retz was ruined. To make a powerful minister, commonly nothing more is requisite than good sense and good fortune; but to be a good minister, the ruling passion must be the good of the public.' The reflections seem to confirm what chancellor Oxenstiern said, in a letter to his son; *Don't you know how small a matter the secret of governing the world amounts to?* Yet a Sulli will always be a prodigy; and whoever will, like him, secure the public weal, even though he may have some other ruling passion, will find a place among the great men.

Whether  
great talents  
be  
necessary  
for a  
minister.

## CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XIV. MAKES HIMSELF RESPECTED ABROAD,  
AND PUTS HIS KINGDOM IN A FLOURISHING STATE.  
AFFAIRS OF EUROPE TILL 1667.

Louis  
seemed  
ill qualified  
for the  
government.  
1661.

It was not imagined that Louis XIV. would assume the reins of government, after the death of a minister whom he had permitted to hold them with absolute authority. Ill educated, ignorant, addicted to pleasure, kept at a distance from business by the ambition of Mazarin, with scarcely any idea of the art of government; at a time of life when most men are enslaved and blinded by their passions, and the more obnoxious to fall into weaknesses, as, at the age of twenty-two, he was assailed by all the seductions of grandeur; it seemed impossible that he should not imitate the great number of princes who have suffered their ministers to reign in their name, and, reserving to themselves only the pleasures and honours of the throne, devolved all its burdensome duties upon others, who seldom discharged them to the advantage of their masters.

But that young king had an elevated and ambitious soul, a thirst for glory, and a fondness for dominion. Though submissive to Mazarin from habit, he had borne the yoke with secret impatience; and, the moment that he saw himself freed from it, declared his resolution to take the reins into his own hands, and put it in practice. If he had frequently been misled by the cardinal, that minister had, at least, inspired him with confidence for Colbert, one of the greatest statesmen that the kingdom has produced. Fouquet, superintendant of the finances, who dissipated the public money, was disgraced and imprisoned, after a sumptuous entertainment which he gave the king at Vaux, now Villars, a pleasure-house, which it is said cost him eighteen millions of the then current money. His successor, Colbert, had only the title of comptroller-general. In his hands the finances became a source of prosperity and splendour.

Colbert succeeds Fouquet in the management of the finances.

With better principles of morality and politics, with more just ideas of the true glory of sovereigns, Louis XIV., aided by Colbert, might have made France the most flourishing kingdom in the world; and would not have drawn upon himself so many wars, which were much less glorious than hurtful. Two occasions immediately presented themselves, in which he showed a vanity or haughtiness which gave a bad prognostic of the future; and by which he made himself feared, but, at the same time, hated.

Faults of the king.

A dispute on precedence happening between his ambassador and that of Spain, at London, furnished the first occasion. The Frenchman

He forces Spain to acknow:

ledge his precedence. having been insulted by the Spaniard in the open street, a reparation for that outrage became necessary ; and Louis threatened his father-in-law, Philip IV., to renew the war, unless the superiority of his crown was acknowledged. But this was too much for a point of honour. Is the blood of nations then so trivial a matter, that it may be shed unnecessarily ? Philip humbled himself, because he could do no better ; recalled and punished his ambassador, and sent the count de Fuentes to Fontainebleau, to declare, in presence of all the foreign ambassadors, that the Spanish ministers should no more dispute the precedence with those of France ; yet they afterwards had an equality at Nimeguen and Ryswick.

1662.  
Affair of the duke de Crequi at Rome. The second affair made the more noise, as it interested the court of Rome. The duke de Crequi, ambassador of Louis XIV., behaved with a haughtiness which made him odious ; and his domestics, in imitation of their master, acted with the most unbridled licentiousness. Some of them having attacked the Corsican guard, which was principally employed in supporting the execution of justice, that corps rose in a tumult, fired upon the coach of the ambassadress, and killed one of her pages. Upon this the duke of Crequi quitted Rome, accusing the brother of Pope Alexander VII., Chigi, as the instigator of the murderers, and the king demanded a satisfaction proportioned to the injury.

Humiliation of the pope. The pope in vain endeavoured to gain time, and flattered himself with the hopes of quashing the affair by the Roman policy, when he received advice that the French troops had al-

ready entered Italy on their way to besiege Rome. No power dared to make the least motion in his favour ; Avignon was in the hands of the king, and the thunders of the Vatican would only have served to increase the mischief ; so greatly were men's opinions changed in the course of a century. Alexander was therefore obliged to humble himself still more than Philip IV.

In consequence of the treaty of Pisa, cardinal Chigi, his nephew, came, in quality of legate, to give the satisfaction which Louis required. This was, in some measure, making amends for the despotic acts of violence committed by the ancient legates. The Corsicans were discharged, a pyramid was erected at Rome in memory of the event, and, besides, it was stipulated, that the pope should restore Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma for a sum payable in eight years. He was likewise to indemnify the duke of Modena for Comacchio.

Treaty  
of Pisa in  
1664.

The acts of vigour, the examples of which were before his time so seldom seen, declared what Europe had to dread from an imperious monarch, powerful, young, and in a condition to execute the greatest enterprises. He extended his views with his power ; he wanted to domineer, and took the proper measures for gratifying his desire.

Europe  
dreaded  
Louis.

Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, by an incomprehensible treaty, which was registered in the parliament, had a little before made him heir to his dominions, on condition that the princes of the blood of Lorraine should be declared princes of the blood of France. A clause

Singular  
treaty with  
the  
duke of  
Lorraine.  
1663.

in the registration bore, that the signature of all the parties concerned should be necessary, which hindered the treaty from taking effect. Whether it proceeded from a new piece of inconstancy in Charles, or precaution and impetuosity in Louis, a French army marched into Lorraine; and the duke, by a new treaty, gave up the important city of Marsal.

Works  
at  
Dunkirk.

The French then laboured to make Dunkirk, which had been purchased from the king of England, a bulwark of France, and a port formidable to the English; and thirty thousand men were employed in constructing that great work, which the fortune of war at last obliged Louis to throw down with his own hands.

Assists  
Leopold  
against  
the Turks.

At the same time he sent succours to Leopold against the Turks, who, after having overrun Transilvania, and ravaged Moravia, threatened Hungary with an invasion. Six thousand French joined the imperial troops, and greatly contributed to the victory of St Gothard on the Raab, where the enemy were defeated. The more praise the French deserved, the more was it dreaded that France should acquire too great power in Germany. Besides, the disorder in the revenue made an accommodation necessary. Leopold, therefore, in 1664, concluded a peace or truce with the vanquished for twenty years, and left the prince of Transilvania their tributary; a humiliating treaty to the court of Vienna!

Succours  
given  
to Portugal  
against  
Spain.

Louis made almost every power in Europe feel his grandeur. He had some reasons of complaint against Spain, and policy invited him to assist Portugal, which was still attacked by that power. Marechal Schomberg, therefore,



led into that country four thousand men, apparently in the pay of the king of Portugal, Alphonso VI., son of the fortunate John IV. Those troops enabled the Portuguese to gain a decisive battle at Estremos, followed by another at Villaviciosa in 1665; and from that time the family of Braganza was firmly established on the throne, which had been disputed with them.

A new war kindled between England and Holland necessarily interested a monarch so attentive to the motions of Europe, and so much occupied with great designs. The English, rather from jealousy than good reasons, broke with a republic which rivalled them in trade. The house of commons was desirous of a war, and Charles II. undertook it; when they granted him a subsidy, greater than any that had been ever before voted, of about two millions and a half sterling. The grand pensionary John De Wit, not being able to avert the storm, opposed it with forces and a resolution worthy of respect. The sea was covered with the ships of the two nations. The English fleet, commanded by the duke of York, consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail, and had twenty-two thousand men on board. It gained a victory in 1665, but De Wit soon repaired that misfortune.

War  
between  
England  
and  
Holland.

Louis had declared for Holland. Colbert had begun to restore, or rather to create a navy; and the duke de Beaufort commanded a squadron of forty sail, but could not join the Dutch, who notwithstanding gained some advantage in a dreadful engagement, which lasted four days. The English afterwards defeated Ruyter, who,

Louis  
favours the  
Dutch-  
French  
navy.

making a glorious retreat, lamented that he had escaped so many cannon balls. England soon perceived that she was ruining herself to no purpose, and that Holland, by her riches, which were the fruits of economy, was capable of supporting the war a longer time. More than one hundred thousand men had lost their lives in London by the plague. A fire consumed above thirteen thousand houses in that city; for it was almost entirely built of wood. In the midst of so many calamities, the rage of war relaxed. Negotiations were carried on at Breda, during which Ruyter burned some ships in the Thames. At last peace was concluded in 1667. By the treaty of Breda, New York was secured to the English, the isle of Poleron in the East Indies to the Dutch, and Acadia to the French.

Clarendon  
sacrificed  
by  
Charles II.

The people, above all a free and turbulent people, are, for the most part, unjust enough to impute to their governors the misfortunes for which they are least answerable. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, chancellor of England, an able, virtuous, and incorruptible minister, in the midst of a very corrupt court, was the object and victim of the popular odium, because that war had been unsuccessful, though it was undertaken even against his advice. Charles II. finding in him the austerity of a sage, and not the complaisance of a flatterer, withdrew his affection, was uneasy at his presence, and deprived him of the seals. He was impeached in parliament, chiefly as having advised the sale of Dunkirk; an imaginary crime, unless we will call by that name every imprudent advice. Sentence of banishment being passed against

Clarendon, he was obliged to quit England, and settled in France, where he composed a work worthy of immortality, the history of the last civil wars in his own country.

Nothing can be a clearer proof of the advantages attendant on a firm and absolute government, when it is directed to the public good, which, it must be owned, is too seldom the case, than the contrast of France with England, at the period to which we are now come. Charles, voluptuous and prodigal, brought himself, by his dissipation, into a state of dependence on his parliament, by whose economy and authority he was prevented from doing all the good which he might have done. Louis aspired to the performance of great actions ; and, having all the means at his disposal, though he bestowed a great deal on magnificence and pleasures, yet made his kingdom flourish. Clarendon had advised the sale of Dunkirk, for want of resources proportioned to the necessities of the crown. Colbert had at once enriched the sovereign and the nation, in such a manner that he could join splendour to utility. Perhaps he would have surpassed Sulli, had the king been less fond of war and magnificence.

Contrast  
between  
France and  
England  
at  
this time.

From the time of Henry IV. the finances languished in a most ruinous condition ; nor could they be recovered but by punishing the depredations, reforming a multitude of abuses that had been authorized, and returning the purchase-money to those who had bought annuities at a low price. These novelties met with opposition from the parliament ; but the king spoke in the tone of a master, and made

Colbert  
recovers  
the  
finances.

himself obeyed. The unwarrantable behaviour of the Fronde had irritated him against a body of magistrates, who, sometimes transgressing the proper bounds, gave room to forget their former services. In 1655, Louis had appeared in the sanctuary of justice, dressed in boots, with a whip in his hand, in order to break up a meeting. He was not then acquainted with what decency prescribes to the sovereign. In 1664 he went, in a manner suitable to his dignity, to cause his edicts to be registered. Being teased with remonstrances, in 1667 he prohibited any more to be presented before the registration. The remonstrances then ceased, the royal authority was exercised with the greatest vigour and promptitude; but if the government committed a mistake, and injured the laws of the people, who could prevent the mischief by carrying truth to the foot of the throne?

Commerce  
flourishing.

It is certain that Colbert lightened the burdens of the people, and considerably augmented the receipts. The protection granted to trade was a source of riches to the state. Dunkirk and Marseilles, being declared free ports, were crowded with vessels and merchandise. The India Company, established in 1664, had too great success to suffer men to foresee the inconveniences which it would one day produce. The manufactures of looking-glass, fine cloths, rich stuffs, and beautiful tapestries, rose in a little time, and were soon carried to a great height. Wonders were produced by the French industry, the moment that it was encouraged; and all nations, in a manner, became its tributaries. Circulation sensibly increased.

Colbert reduced interest to five *per cent.* in 1665; Sulli had reduced it to six and a quarter; Richelieu to five and five-ninths. Some able reasoners maintain at present, that it would be better to leave it entirely free.

According to the author of the Age of Louis XIV., 'the minister, Colbert, did not all that he could have done, still less all that he would have done. Men were not at that time sufficiently enlightened; and in a great kingdom, there are always great abuses. The arbitrary taille, the multiplicity of duties, the customs on the export and import from one province to another, which produces an estrangement, and even enmity, between different parts of France; the inequality of measures in the several towns; and a thousand other distempers of the body-politic, still subsisted. The greatest fault objected to this minister is, that he did not dare to encourage the exportation of corn. All the other branches of administration being in a flourishing condition, prevented Colbert from remedying the fault in that which was most important. . . . This fault, which has been perceived by all men of abilities in the nation, has not been repaired by any minister in the course of a whole century, till the memorable epoch of 1764.' \*

Abuses  
which  
Colbert  
could not  
reform.

Why has that epoch of the liberty to export grain been hitherto productive of no good effect? Why has the people suffered so much? Why has the exportation been since prohibited? Must it be attributed to bad crops, punishable artifices, or some imperfection in the law?

Questions  
on  
that subject.

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\* Siècle de Louis XIV. Ch. 30.

These are points which it is not my province to decide. But fact demonstrates, that the finest speculations do not secure success, unless every contingency has been foreseen, and a remedy provided beforehand for every possible inconvenience. It is important to reason well, but still more to act well.

Public  
works.

With a good administration, Louis XIV. saw himself immediately in a condition both to command respect from foreign nations, and bring every thing to perfection in his own kingdom. He not only embellished the capital, which was magnificently paved and lighted, but provided for the security of the inhabitants by a police, of which there was no example in any other country. The appearance of the provinces was changed by the construction of highways and useful works. In 1664 the canal of Languedoc was begun, which joins the two seas, though separated by a chain of mountains. How glorious is it thus to conquer nature, and force it to contribute to the happiness of a nation !

Legislation  
corrected.

A more important object than all the rest was the administration of justice. There was a council established in 1666 for the reformation of the laws. In 1667 appeared the civil ordinance. The code of the waters and forests, the criminal ordinance, and others, followed in succession. Duels, which were severely prohibited, became less frequent every day. A number of pernicious abuses were rectified. If many others still remained, the reason was, that a Gothic system of legislation, in a manner the child of chance, accidents, and ancient barbarism, almost void of rational and uniform prin-

ciples, ought rather to have been entirely new-modelled, had such a thing been possible, than corrected in some particular points. No human work requires so great genius, knowledge, experience, and prudence. Even the laws of England still abound with abuses, which liberty has not been able to destroy.

The views of the legislator were seconded by Academies. establishments calculated to strengthen the understanding, and, in progress of time, to eradicate all prejudices. He had founded the Academy of Belles-lettres and Inscriptions in 1663. That of the Sciences was instituted in 1666. The Royal Society of London had been established six years before; and the taste for the belles-lettres did not permit the French to equal it in that age, though they had some respectable natural philosophers and mathematicians. The pensions and gratifications bestowed upon learned men, even of foreign nations, already made the name of Louis be celebrated in the warmest strains through all Europe.

His court was soon adorned by the muses and arts. His splendid festivals united the Festivals  
at  
Versailles. charms of wit to every imaginable display of magnificence. They drew together a prodigious concourse of admirers; and the curious from every country defrayed part of their expense by the money which they circulated in the kingdom. At that of Versailles, in 1664, first appeared the comedy of Tartuffe, the masterpiece of Moliere, which a cabal of devotees in vain struggled to suppress. Racine and Boileau in a short time displayed their talents. Genius was roused by every incitement. But it must be allowed, that its just expressions of

gratitude were sometimes tarnished by adulation. Louis loved to be flattered with delicacy. That art was therefore cultivated too successfully, and its fruits became poisonous.

Louis being  
flattered,  
naturally  
committed  
squibs.

Being admired or praised for all his enterprises, actions, proceedings, and notions, the monarch could not keep a just medium. If he could, he would have been really worthy of those high encomiums. Versailles absorbed his riches; and afterwards the passion for glory and conquests drew him into still more enormous expenses. Colbert himself could not supply them, without departing from those principles of administration which form the basis of the public weal,



## ERA OF LOUIS XIV.

## BOOK II.

FROM THE WAR IN MDCLXVII TO THAT OF  
MDCLXXXVIII, AFTER THE LEAGUE  
OF AUGSBURG.

## CHAPTER I.

CONQUEST OF FLANDERS AND FRANCHE-COMTE.  
TRIPLE ALLIANCE. PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE.  
SIEGE OF CANDIA BY THE TURKS,

**P**HILIP IV., king of Spain, had departed this life in 1665; a prince who, though endowed with abilities and virtues, seemed to hasten the ruin of the monarchy, because, addicted to pleasure, and averse from every kind of business; governed by his ministers or flatterers; neither doing nor seeing any thing by himself; lulling his subjects into a deadly lethargy, instead of rousing their courage and genius; and remedying none of the faults of government,

Philip IV.  
had  
misgoverned  
Spain.

he made them almost incurable, and increased their number. Don Louis de Haro, an estimable minister and favourite, dying in 1661, no man had been found worthy to fill his place.

Beginning  
of  
the reign  
of  
Charles II.

Charles II., a prince only four years of age, and of a weakly constitution, succeeded to the throne of his father. The queen-regent, Mary Anne of Austria, persecuted Don John, natural son of the late king, who was the only person capable of governing, and blindly followed the prejudices of father Nitard, a German Jesuit, whom she put at the head of the council, after making him grand inquisitor. The arrogance of that Jesuit is universally known, by his reply to a grandee, who spoke to him in the style of a superior. *It is you who ought to pay respect to me, for I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet.* How important is it for princes not to confound the secrets of their conscience with the affairs of state! Under such a minister, every thing inevitably grew worse; and we shall see that the enemy took advantage of it.

Pretensions  
of  
Louis XIV.  
on  
Brabant.

Though, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, the queen of France, daughter of Philip IV., had absolutely renounced all her rights to the whole or any part of her father's dominions, and that renunciation had been renewed by her contract of marriage; yet Louis formed the design of reviving some of those rights, and securing a portion of that vast succession. The court of Versailles asserted, that Brabant ought to return to Maria Theresa, as eldest daughter of the first bed, in virtue of a law of inheritance established in the Low Countries, by which the children of the first bed excluded those of the

second, males or females indifferently. This regulation was observed in private successions. But did it comprehend princes? Did it subsist after a solemn renunciation? These were important points of litigation, which arms alone could decide.

The civilians and theologians, who were consulted by the two courts, did not fail to take opposite sides on this question. Papers were circulated by both parties, to prove the justice of their cause. One of those, published by the court of France, contains the following remarkable words. *Let it not be said that the sovereign is not subject to the laws of his state ; for the contrary proposition is a truth of the law of nature ; which, though flattery has sometimes attacked, good princes have always defended as a tutelary divinity of their dominions.\** Happy the monarchy where the prince really obeys the laws, and rules only by them !

Writings  
on  
both sides.

But it was a great misfortune to Europe, and even to France, that Louis, too much elated by his power, had not the moderation proper to regulate the exercise of it ; and that his ambition for conquests and trophies prevented him from foreseeing the storms which his successes would infallibly draw upon his kingdom. Mazarin had filled him with flattering ideas of future grandeur. The marquis de Louvois, his minister for the war department, eagerly longed to signalize himself by enterprises favourable to his own ambition ; and the interest of the minister being conformable to the inclinations

Louis  
too much  
inclined  
to  
war.

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\* Defence de Droits de la Reine.

and prejudices of the prince, it is easy to guess the issue of that affair.

Secret  
treaty for  
the  
partition of  
the  
Spanish  
succession.

All the king of Spain's brothers being dead, the inheritance of his crown appeared a future subject of dispute; and politics are not very scrupulous. Voltaire mentions a secret treaty, now deposited in the Louvre, by which the courts of France and Vienna already agreed upon a partition. The emperor Leopold consented that Louis should take possession of the Netherlands, on condition that Spain should revert to him after the death of Charles II. He took extraordinary precautions that no person should come to the knowledge of this treaty; the instrument of which, without any copy being taken, was locked up in a metal casket, and to be put into the hands of the grand duke of Tuscany. Such secrets are discovered sooner or later.

1697.  
Conquests  
in  
Flanders.

Excellent and well disciplined troops, immense preparations, magazines on the frontiers, two ministers of great abilities, and spurred on by emulation, a Turenne for general; with all these advantages, Louis marched out to certain conquest. He took Charleroi, Ath, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtrai, and Douai, almost the moment he appeared before their gates. Lille, though strongly fortified and garrisoned by six thousand men, held out only nine days. Louvois advising these places to be garrisoned, they were fortified by the celebrated Vauban, whose new method of constructing low works surpassed every thing which the powers of genius had invented,

1698.  
Conquest

Scarcely had the king recruited himself from the fatigues of that campaign, when he set out,

in the middle of winter, to conquer Franche Comté, a province dependent on the government of Flanders, or rather a kind of republic under the Spanish dominion, and which was attached to its sovereigns, because they ruled with mildness, and did not encroach on its privileges. The plan of the expedition had been proposed by Condé, governor of Burgundy; and Louvois, jealous of Turenne, embraced it with ardour. Some secret methods were taken to accelerate the success of the French arms. Traitors were found; and where are they not to be found for money? Condé at once made himself master of Besançon and Salins. The king forced Dole to surrender in four days. In three weeks of the month of February, the whole province was conquered. Besançon, formerly an imperial city, had been ceded to Spain, in 1652, in lieu of Frankendahl.

of Franche  
Comté.

In this double conquest, Louis showed a courage, tempered with prudence, such as the conjunctures required. His presence sufficiently animated the soldiers. The uniforms which he first introduced among the troops were an useful distinction for the regiments. Rewards, judiciously bestowed, inspired the keenest emulation. But the monarch brought into the armies his pomp and luxury; a dangerous example in future, as the generals would doubtless imitate him, the inferior officers, in a greater or less degree, copy the generals, and so of the rest. What a multitude of inconveniences resulted from this practice!

Behaviour  
of the  
king at the  
army.

The court of Madrid, which so shamefully lost her provinces under the administration of

Spain  
acknowledges

the  
independ-  
ence  
of  
Portugal.

a Jesuit, found herself obliged at last to acknowledge the independence of Portugal, and put an end to a war of twenty-six years, equally humbling to Spain as that of the United Provinces. The Portuguese had, a little before, dethroned Alphonso VI., a furious tyrant, without the least glimmering of understanding; and his brother, Don Pedro, was put in his place, though only with the title of regent. He espoused the queen, whose first marriage was declared null, under pretence of impotency in the king; and that union was authorized by the pope. In other times, that affair would have been attended with more difficulty. Alphonso, who was declared impotent, had a bastard.

Triple  
alliance.

Meantime, other nations were alarmed with the successes of France. England, above all, dreaded the consequences; and Holland trembled, lest she should have no longer a frontier. Those two powers, when scarcely reconciled, united by a treaty, which was almost instantaneously brought to a conclusion. Sir William Temple, ambassador at the Hague, and the grand pensionary De Wit, were men above the chicanery and artifices of vulgar politicians. They proceeded in the straight path, to the security of the common good. The triple alliance, for Sweden acceded to the treaty, was formed to oblige Louis to make peace with Spain, and again renounce the rights of the queen, in consideration of keeping part of his conquests. De Wit ventured to make this treaty be signed by the states-general, without waiting for the consent of the provinces and

Bold step of  
De Wit.

cities. This was a case when the slow procedures of the government might have been fatal. *We will talk of it in six weeks*, said the French ambassador, speaking of the projected alliance ; so much did he reckon on the means of breaking it off, before the ordinary formalities were gone through.

The haughty conqueror stopped short. He proposed peace, and dissembled his vexation. He saw a burgo-master of Amsterdam, Van-Beuning, an inflexible republican, in a manner beard his imperious haughtiness, and negotiate with his ministers without fear and without complaisance. *Do you not rely on the king's word?* said they one day to that Dutchman. *I do not know what the king will do*, replied he ; *I consider what he can do*. In a word, Van-Beuning dictated the terms. The treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle ; and Louis kept Flanders, restored Franche Comté, confirmed the treaty of the Pyrenees, but still retained his resentment.

Van  
Beuning  
mortifies the  
king.  
Treaty  
of Aix-la-  
Chapelle.

Spain, though freed from so dangerous a war, was not yet at quiet. The regent, or rather her favourite, Nitard, maltreated the man with whom it was, above all others, necessary to keep fair. Don John of Austria, pushed to extremity, revolted, stirred up Aragon and Catalonia, and forced the queen to part with the Jesuit. She therefore sent him in quality of ambassador to Rome, where he obtained the purple ; and the government was shared between the regent and the prince. The pride and incapacity of the confessor had turned the monarchy upside down ; an important lesson, though little regarded.

F. Nitard  
disgusts  
Don John of  
Austria.

Buccaneers  
formidable  
to  
Spain.

At the same time, the Spaniards were afflicted with a dreadful scourge in America. A body of pirates, lawless, dissolute, and irreligious, who thought life nothing when put in the balance with freedom, equally intrepid and cruel, known by the name of *Buccaneers*, a mixture of English and French, had seized upon the isle of Tortuga, near St Domingo. Though only furnished with canoes, they took large vessels. Nothing could resist their desperate impetuosity. The mortal hatred which they had sworn against the Spaniards made them exert more than human efforts to do them an injury.

Their  
enterprise  
against  
Porto Bello.  
1669.

Six hundred, or, at most, a thousand *Buccaneers*, under the conduct of an Englishman named Morgan, ventured to attack Porto-Bello, a strong town, defended by a good garrison, and which contained immense riches. They scaled and took the citadel. The town ransomed itself for about a million of piastres. Their boldness still increased, and heroic actions are recounted of them; but having neither rule, prudence, nor government, and giving themselves up to every imaginable excess, it at last became necessary that they should be dissipated, when Spain roused from her shameful lethargy.

Prosperity  
of  
France.

After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, France continued equally to increase in strength and splendour. Her commerce grew with her navy. Colbert and Louvois laboured with emulation for the glory of the monarch; and that kingdom became an object of admiration, as well as jealousy, to foreigners. John Casimir, king of Poland, having abdicated his



crown, from a taste for repose, chose it for his place of residence; and was presented with the rich abbey of St Germaine, which was sufficient to have made twenty Frenchmen happy. He had been a Jesuit and cardinal. He had no relish but for the sweets of society, of which Paris was the centre, where pleasure and urbanity had fixed their throne.

Louis XIV. set another glorious example to the Christian princes, which was not imitated. The Turks besieging Candia, ancient Crete, one of the principal possessions of Venice, to which some succours were sent by pope Clement IX. and the order of Malta, but too weak to oppose so great an empire, seven thousand French were despatched, under the command of the duke de Beaufort, to fight against the Infidels. The duke de Rouanois, afterwards marechal de la Feuillade, had already conducted thither, at his own expense, a troop of more than two hundred gentlemen. The heroic spirit of the crusades seemed to be revived, for an object worthy of rousing its activity. But that assistance came too late, or was not sufficient. The other nations remaining inactive, it only retarded the taking of Candia, which was reduced to extremity. The duke de Beaufort fell in that expedition. The town capitulated after a siege of three years. Francis Morosini, afterwards doge of Venice, captain-general of the fleet, immortalized his name in the war; and Montbrun, a Frenchman, who commanded the army of the republic, shared the glory of the Venetian. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, a man of distinguished abilities, used parallels in the trenches, which were invented

1669  
Succours  
sent  
to  
Candia.

by an Italian engineer. The Turks, on that occasion, set the first example of a method, which has since been generally adopted as of the greatest utility.

## CHAPTER II.

WAR AGAINST HOLLAND FOR INSUFFICIENT REASONS. LOUIS XIV. REDUCED TO EXTREMITIES IN 1662. COMMOTIONS IN EUROPE AGAINST HIM. HE SOON LOSES HIS CONQUESTS.

LOUIS XIV. was irritated against that triple alliance, which had stopped him short in the career of his rapid conquests, and could not forgive Holland. After having generously succoured them, both against England and the bishop of Munster, Bernard Gallen, a warlike and enterprising prelate, he looked on their political endeavours to curb his ambition as criminal and injurious. In a word, he thirsted for revenge and conquest.

Louis  
desirous of  
being  
revenged  
on  
the Dutch.

Being resolved to subdue Holland, he took every measure that would have been requisite for the boldest enterprise. Alliances, warlike preparations, profound secresy, and vigorous activity, all contributed to insure him success.

His  
measures.

The most important point was to gain the king of England; and it was effected. Charles II. had but little authority. The English, in general, were discontented; and their turbulence was fomented by religious animosities,

which were still very violent. On one side, the Presbyterians, harassed by the laws, murmured at a persecution which that prince did not approve. On the other, the churchmen were enraged at his desiring to procure a toleration for the Catholics; and his brother, the duke of York, having embraced the Romish faith, the sects united to attack Popery. Being void of economy, the wants of the crown perpetually returned. The parliament was sparing in its grants, in order to keep him under the rein. The more Charles was curbed, the more fondness did he contract for absolute authority.

The Cabal  
a  
new  
ministry.

His council was composed of five new ministers, who were nicknamed the *Cabal*, and who gained his confidence by entering into his passions. The project of uniting with France, which would furnish him with powerful succours, and afterwards reigning with arbitrary power, was probably hatched by that council; a scheme entirely conformable to the genius of the duke of York, who had great influence over the king.

Louis  
engages  
Charles II.  
in  
a league.  
1670.

Such were the dispositions of the court of London, when Louis XIV. made preparations for entering into a negociation with it, which was carried on in a very singular manner. Madame, wife to the duke of Orleans, sister to Charles II., a princess of great wit and beauty, was pitched upon to manage the treaty; and, in order to avoid suspicion, the king made a pompous tour to Dunkirk, and through his conquests in Flanders, accompanied by the queen and all the princesses. Madame thus having a plausible pretence for paying a visit to her brother, passed the Strait, and was met

by Charles at Canterbury. The secret of state was concealed under the veil of festivals and pleasures, and a treaty concluded against Holland. At her return, the young princess died; but this produced no change of measures. She had left with Charles a lady of her train, whom he continued to love till his death, and created duchess of Portsmouth. This was an additional tie to captivate that voluptuous and imprudent prince. To what will not politics have recourse!

The emperor Leopold had alienated the affections of the Hungarians, by violating their privileges, and raising a religious persecution; two faults which seemed hereditary in the house of Austria, notwithstanding experience had so often demonstrated their fatal effects. Under colour of a conspiracy, real or pretended, he had seized all the strong places in Hungary. Thus, being taken up with his own affairs, and, besides, entertaining an aversion against the Hollanders, he acceded to the views of France. All the German princes were secured, except the elector of Brandenburg. Sweden was once more gained over; no dread was entertained of Spain; and Louis thought himself secure of conquering a defenceless republic.

The emperor and Sweden abandon Holland.

As there was no solid reason for attacking it, recourse was had to complaints and pretences. A medal, in which Holland boasted of having *secured the laws, purified religion, succoured, defended, and reconciled the monarchs, asserted the freedom of the seas, and established the tranquillity of Europe*. This proud medal, such as has been struck in every country, perhaps on less foundation, was one of the principal grievances;

Pretence for the war.

as if it had been the cause of usurpations on crowned heads. The die was broken by the Dutch; but Louis and Charles had taken their resolution, and war was declared.

Two parties  
in the  
republic.

Unluckily for the republic, it was divided by two factions. John De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, rigid adherents to liberty, had caused the young prince, William III., to be formally excluded from the stadtholdership, which had been abolished in 1650, after the death of his father, William II. A proof that these illustrious citizens acted from patriotic sentiments, is, that the pensionary had procured for the prince the best education, in order to render him capable of serving the state in every department. He had therefore exposed himself to the danger of one day becoming his victim, if William, who possessed a great share of merit, gave himself up to the guidance of ambition or revenge, rather than zeal for the interests of the republic. That prince, at the age of twenty-one, joined to his noble qualities a keen and deliberate ambition. He aspired to the dignity of his ancestors, had a numerous party, and the discord at home increased the dangers from abroad.

De Wit  
had  
neglected  
the  
land forces.

John De Wit is blamed for neglecting the land forces, and bestowing his whole care on the marine. It is certain that Holland was as weak on one side as she was formidable on the other. The sea seemed to be his element. The grand pensionary, not foreseeing a sudden invasion, which was so improbable, had turned his whole attention upon objects of the greatest importance to his republic. But too great security, sooner or later, becomes fatal. The

safety of states depends upon foreseeing all possible dangers, and guarding against every event.

Louis marched at the head of all his forces, accompanied by his most renowned generals, against that little state, which could oppose him only with a few raw mercenary troops. He passed the Rhine, almost without danger, on the twelfth of June. The river was low, and the cavalry had but a little way to swim; while the cannon played furiously on the opposite bank. Two regiments, by which it was defended, quickly disappeared; and the infantry passed undisturbed, with the king, upon a bridge of boats. This brilliant action, which has been celebrated as a prodigy, was unquestionably bold and glorious; but fame and flattery gave it a lustre, which is greatly lessened by the impartiality of history.

1672.  
Passage  
of  
the Rhine.

In less than three months, the provinces of Utrecht, Overysse, and Gueldres, were conquered, together with above forty strong places. Amsterdam beheld the enemy almost at her gates. Meantime, Ruyter gained glory in a sea-fight against the combined fleets of England and France, near Solebay. The duke of York suffered so dreadful a fire, that he was constrained to change his ship. Though this engagement, which, like so many others, was indecisive, supported the honour of the Dutch flag, yet the republic believed herself inevitably ruined. Some marauders appeared within a league of the capital; and the gates would have been opened, had the party been more numerous.

Three  
provinces  
conquered.  
Battle  
of  
Solebay.

Holland  
on the brink  
of  
destruction.

According to Voltaire, whose words I here borrow, that I may lose nothing of an interesting narration, 'the richest families, and those which were most zealous for liberty, prepared to flee into the farthest part of the world, and embark for Batavia. They took a list of all the vessels capable of making the voyage, and made a calculation of the numbers they could embark. It was found that fifty thousand families could take refuge in their new country. Holland would no more have existed, but at the extremity of the East Indies. Its provinces in Europe, which purchase their corn only with the riches of Asia, which subsist only by their commerce, and, if the expression may be used, by their liberty, would have been almost at once ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, the mart and magazine of Europe, where commerce and the arts are cultivated by two hundred thousand men, would soon have become a vast morass. All the neighbouring lands require immense expenses, and thousands of hands, to keep up their dykes. In all probability, their inhabitants would have left them, with their riches, and they would have been at last sunk under water; leaving to Louis XIV. only the miserable glory of having destroyed the finest and most extraordinary monument ever erected by human industry.' Yet this is what poets, orators, and, perhaps, historians, would have adorned with all the flowers of the most eloquent flattery!

She sues for  
peace.

In this dreadful situation, John De Wit determined the states-general to sue for peace, notwithstanding the opposition of the prince of



Orange, who had been made general and admiral, without receiving any share in the administration. Their deputies implored the clemency of the victor, but were received by Louvois with insulting haughtiness, and intolerable conditions prescribed. They were required to give up all their possessions beyond the Rhine, and some strong places in the heart of the republic; to restore the Romish religion, and every year send an embassy extraordinary, acknowledging that they held their liberty of the king. Louis, intoxicated by his victories, did not reflect on the inconstancy of fortune, which might one day humble him before those whom he had now oppressed. What treatment will he then meet with?

On the return of the deputies, and news of the conditions, the terror of the people was changed into despair, and despair revived the republican courage. The populace, transported with fury, forgetting the services of the De Wits, and charging them as being the authors of the present calamities, murdered and tore them in pieces with that horrible rage, of which some example is to be found in every country. But the magistrates exerted themselves for the public good, with the zeal and intrepidity of patriotic virtue. The young prince of Orange being at last created stadtholder, became the principal support of the state. *I have a sure method, said he, to prevent my ever being a witness to the ruin of my country; I will die in the last intrenchment.*

Despair.  
Massacre of  
the  
De Wits.

William  
Stadtholder.

In order to remove the enemy, the Dutch exposed themselves to the danger of drowning, and bored the dykes that kept out the sea.

The dykes  
bored  
to lay the

country  
under  
water.

Amsterdam and the other towns were surrounded with the waters that overflowed the adjacent country. The love of liberty, and hatred of oppression, enabled them to endure all the calamities attendant on such a situation, while William animated the people, and assured them of speedy assistance from the other powers of Europe, whom he solicited not without success.

Europe  
roused in  
favour  
of  
Holland.

In fact, Europe could not but open her eyes on the haughty ambition of Louis XIV. Every state saw itself threatened with the same enterprises which had made the Austrian power an object of terror and hatred. England was filled with indignation at the pernicious system pursued by her king, Charles II. The elector of Brandenburg openly declared himself, promised the Dutch a body of twenty thousand men, and engaged the emperor Leopold to furnish them with twenty-four thousand. Denmark, with almost all Germany, entered into this league; and Spain in a short time followed their example.

Faults  
committed  
by the  
conqueror.

Had the conqueror fallen upon the capital while its inhabitants were overwhelmed with terror; if, instead of following the advice of his minister Louvois, and dispersing the troops in the conquered towns, he had demolished the fortifications, as was proposed by Condé and Turenne, who said, that armies were more proper than garrisons for subjecting a country; in a word, if he had not allowed Holland time to breathe, and the stadtholder to act, that expedition would have been less fruitless. The best concerted projects are often ruined by an error in politics, or in the management of a

war; and therefore the faults that have been committed furnish some of the most instructive lessons of history.

The storm which was gathering did not prevent Louis XIV. from taking the town of Maestricht, the siege of which he carried on in person. This important place opened to him a communication with his conquests. But the general Montecuculi, who had been long stopped on the banks of the Rhine by Turenne, at last joined the Dutch. The prince of Orange took Bonn, having formed his troops by the most rigorous discipline. On the other side, Louvois, an unfeeling minister, caused a good officer to be ignominiously degraded, for having surrendered Naerden, after a combat of five hours. Naerden was the first place that Louis lost. But was it imagined, that the others would be preserved by an unjust example of severity? and that the French would become invincible through the dread of shame, rather than sentiments of honour? That officer continued to serve as a volunteer, and the following campaign met the death which he courted.

1673.  
He loses  
his  
advantages.

With so many enemies to oppose, it was impossible to keep the three conquered provinces. They were therefore put to ransom, and evacuated. What sentiments must then have been inspired by the monuments erected in honour of the conquest; among others, the triumphal arch of the gate of St Denis! Louis began to feel, by experience, the deceitfulness of ambition. Ruyter had fought three battles at sea in the month of June 1673, when he had the glory of opposing the combined fleets of

The  
conquests  
evacuated.

England and France without being vanquished ; and Holland showed herself as formidable on the ocean, as if she had sustained no losses elsewhere.

The  
English give  
Charles II.  
uneasiness.

At last the English, whose political system was irreconcilable with the measures adopted by the court, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of promoting the dangerous projects formed by Louis XIV., gave Charles so much uneasiness, that peace became absolutely necessary. The parliament remonstrated against the Indulgence, which suspended the penal laws regarding religion ; and the king broke the seal of that proclamation with his own hand. Besides this, he was obliged to consent to the famous *test* oath, by which the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation was formally condemned. All who held any office in the state being obliged to take this oath, the duke of York was constrained to resign the post of high-admiral. Charles, seeing the administration exposed to the censures of parliament, and having no hopes of new subsidies, hastily concluded a peace in 1674, Holland promising him a sum of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling. He alone profited by this war, which had been a heavy burden to the nation. He excused himself to Louis, preserved his connexions with France, and even left ten thousand men in her service.

## CHAPTER III.

SEQUEL OF THE WAR WITH HOLLAND, NOW BECOME ALMOST GENERAL. LOUIS XIV. TRIUMPHANT. HEDIC-TATES THE TERMS OF PEACE AT NIMEGUEN IN 1678.

A WAR undertaken with so little reason, though begun with such vigour and success, might in the end prove fatal to France. In a short time, she was deserted by all her allies except Sweden. The emperor, with a great part of the empire, Spain and Denmark, were her enemies, as well as Holland. Yet she had great resources in the authority of the king, the skill of her ministers and generals, the ardour of the nation, accustomed to victory, and in the riches which had been diffused through the whole kingdom by industry and commerce. Louis, therefore, was necessarily still triumphant; but his triumphs were a kind of slow poison, which wasted the body politic.

1674.  
Almost  
all Europe  
against  
Louis.

He went in person to make a conquest of Franche-Comté, which the Spanish minister abandoned almost to itself. An attempt was made to send succours, but too late; the Swiss refusing to grant a passage. Besançon was taken after a siege which lasted only nine days, and the whole province was subdued in six

He  
seised  
Franche-  
Comté.

weeks. The conqueror confirmed its privileges ; but, notwithstanding, could not efface the memory of a government more gentle than his own.

Subjects  
of animosity  
in  
Germany.

During the very time that the negotiations were carrying on at Cologne, the emperor Leopold had caused count Furstenberg to be arrested in that city, as a favourer of Louis XIV. This violence, which was the more inexcusable, as the Germanic body had not yet declared itself, increased the animosity of the parties, and left no hopes of peace. The elector palatine, to whom France had done great services, entered into a league with the emperor against France ; which was another motive for hatred and revenge. Consequently the operations of war were stained with cruelty.

Turenne  
lays waste  
the  
palatinate.

Turenne commanded an army of twenty thousand men on the Rhine. He performed all his great actions with a small force. At Sentzheim he beat the imperialists, commanded by the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV., who had brought so many misfortunes upon himself by his unsteady conduct, and was then stripped of his dominions for a new act of infidelity. The conqueror fell upon the palatinate, through which he carried desolation, and reduced to ashes two cities, besides twenty-five villages ; for those barbarities were commanded by the ministers. It is related that the elector, reduced to despair, having sent him a challenge, he replied, that, *from the time he had the honour to be general of the armies of France, he never fought but at the head of twenty thousand men.*

Bloody  
and

Condé commanded forty-five thousand in Flanders, against a much superior number.

He attacked the prince of Orange at Senef, useless battle of Senef. near Mons, where he had three horses killed under him. According to the report of the clergy of that neighbourhood, the field of battle was covered with twenty-five thousand dead bodies, though the victory remained undecided. That field ought to be the school of princes who are infected with the madness of loving war.

Should any person be inhuman enough to look without pity on the multitude of unknown victims, yet the loss of a great man, such as Turenne, which happened soon after, must move his regret. That general's two last campaigns Last campaigns of Turenne. are a prodigy of military skill, consecrated to the defence of the state. More than sixty thousand imperialists had passed the Rhine, while he had not above one-third of that number; yet he saved Alsace and Lorraine, gained several victories, dispersed the enemy, obliged them to repass into Germany; and all this by following the dictates of his own genius, in contradiction to the orders of the ministry.

He passed the Rhine in his turn, when he was opposed by Montecuculi, a general worthy of being his antagonist. During two months, they rivalled each other in admirable marches and encampments; foreseeing each other's designs, never surprised, and always seizing the smallest advantage. Turenne was making dispositions for a battle, and thought himself on the eve of a victory, when he was slain by a cannon-shot near Sasbach. The same ball took off the arm of the marquis de St Hilaire, who, seeing his son melt into tears, said to him, 1675. Opposed by Montecuculi.

*It is not for me, but for that great man, you ought to weep*; an expression worthy of a Regulus. The French, commanded by the count de Lorges, made an honourable retreat, and resisted the efforts of Montecuculi. But the imperial general penetrated into Alsace, and did not repass the Rhine till the prince of Condé was sent against him. This was the last campaign of the French prince and the Austrian general.

Campaigns  
of the  
marechal de  
Crequi.

The marechal de Crequi, having rashly attacked a superior army, which was besieging Treves, lost the battle of Consarbruck; but, instructed by experience and misfortune, he afterwards showed himself as prudent as brave. Having thrown himself into Treves, accompanied only by three persons, he resolved to perish rather than surrender. A cowardly and insolent officer capitulated on the breach, and the mutinous garrison endeavoured to extort the marechal's consent; but he rather chose to fall into the hands of the enemy. After his ransom, he made two campaigns, in 1677 and 1678, during which he seemed to be animated with the spirit of Turenne. The young duke of Lorraine, Charles V., nephew and heir of Charles IV., after having taken Philipsburg, though at the head of sixty thousand men, could neither surprise him, force him to a battle, penetrate into Lorraine, nor hinder him from taking Friburg.

Confusion  
in  
the events of  
the war.

If I traced the events of the war, and attempted to range them according to their dates, I should only compose a barren and tiresome gazette. Those accumulated facts, which efface the memory of each other, are to be



found every where. I am afraid of giving too many of them, even when I confine myself to the most remarkable. Let us endeavour, at least, to fix them in the mind by some instructive idea ; for, without ideas, words are useless.

While Spain made war in favour of her old enemies the Dutch, her government still continued to be the worst in Europe. Sicily, overwhelmed by the weight of despotism, revolted in 1674 ; and the example was set by Messina itself, which till then had continued faithful. Louis XIV. was proclaimed in that city, after a victory gained by his fleet. Charles II., who came of age in 1675, recalled Don John of Austria, whom the queen-regent persecuted from the beginning ; but soon after dismissed him, and, by the queen's advice, gave himself up to the direction of Valenzuela, an intriguing poet of obscure birth, who was already raised to the first offices of the court. This new minister gave festivals and plays, amused and corrupted the people, dissipated the finances in pompous frivolities, and neglected the administration, with the first principles of which he was unacquainted. Father Nitard was not more unworthy of government.

Revolt  
in Sicily  
against  
Spain.  
Valenzuela.

The Spaniards were reduced to solicit the assistance of the Dutch, in order to defend or recover Sicily ; upon which Ruyter sailed into the Mediterranean with a fleet, where Duquesne, his rival in glory, fought him twice. The second engagement cost the life of Ruyter, one of the greatest men of his age, who, from the station of a cabin-boy, was become

Ruyter and  
Duquesne  
on  
the coast  
of  
Sicily.

the hero and defender of his country. Duquesne had likewise made his fortune solely by his merit. He again attacked the enemies, Dutch and Spaniards, when he gained the victory; and yet Messina was evacuated two years after, in 1678. These astonishing exertions of naval force, joined to so many other ruinous expenses, exhausted Louis XIV. to such a degree, that he could not carry on his enterprises. Besides, the Spanish ministry was no longer the same. Charles II. had confined his mother in a convent; Valenzuela had been banished to the Philippine Islands; and Don John was become prime minister.

Conquests  
of  
Louis  
in Flanders.

The great success of France was in the Netherlands, on which she turned the chief strength of her arms. Louis loved a war carried on by sieges, because he could not fail of succeeding in them, with the assistance of a Louvois and Vauban, aided by so formidable and well provided armies. He took, in person, Condé Bouchain, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Ghent, and Ipres. The taking of Valenciennes is distinguished by a glorious action. Contrary to the established custom, Vauban proposed to make the attack in open day; proved that the blood of the soldiers would be spared; the enemy more easily surprised; the cowards forced to behave well; and, consequently, there would be less danger and greater advantage. This advice, which prevailed, notwithstanding the opposition of five marshals, and Louvois himself, was justified by the event. The venturous courage of the musqueteers, who rapidly darted from one work to another, yet conducting themselves with caution, forced the town to surrender, be-

fore the king knew that the outworks were carried. The numerous garrison surrendered prisoners of war. In actions of this kind, the French are unequalled.

Louis, after his return from the brilliant campaign of 1677, said to Despreaux and Racine, his historiographers, *I am sorry you did not come to this last campaign. You would have seen war, and your journey would not have been long.* It was then the month of May. *Your majesty,* replied Racine, *has not given us time to get our clothes made.* These were delicate strokes of flattery, and relished by the conqueror. They intoxicated him with the fumes of vanity, and blinded him to future evils. Two great poets, whom he made choice of to write his history, would have made it a panegyric, had they performed their task as their title and pensions required them; or they must have belied their own writings. Will it be believed, that Despreaux, after his epistle on the passage of the Rhine, could have given a just idea of the Dutch war?

Flattery  
of  
Despreaux  
and  
Racine.

Notwithstanding the abilities and courage of the prince of Orange, he still felt the superiority of the French arms. He had raised the siege of Maestricht in 1676. The saying of Calvo, an intrepid Catalan, who commanded in the place, deserves to be repeated. *I am entirely unacquainted with the art of defending a town,* said he to his engineers. *All I know is, that I am resolved not to surrender.* The following year William attempted to retrieve St Omer, which was besieged by the duke of Orleans; but lost the battle of Cassel, and the town was taken. The duke of Orleans had a

The prince  
of  
Orange  
unsuccessful  
in war.

horse killed under him, and gave proofs of bravery which could scarcely be expected, considering the effeminacy of his manners ; powerful was the force of example, and the impulse to glory. The king, it is said, grew jealous of him ; at least, he never after put his brother at the head of an army.

*Losses  
of Sweden.*

That prince was every where victorious, while his allies, the Swedes, lost the principality of Verdun, Pomerania, and almost every thing they possessed in Germany. The elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark stripped a power which had so long domineered in the empire. Mean time negotiations were carried on at Nimeguen. The enemy were divided by motives of private interest. France imposed terms of peace, and it was necessary to accept them.

*1678.  
Separate  
peace with  
Holland.*

The Dutch separated from the confederacy for their own advantage. The war had been kindled against them, and they had been brought to the verge of destruction in a single campaign ; but, having found means to remove it from their own provinces ever since the year 1674, they acted only as auxiliaries. By a strange revolution in affairs they lost nothing. Maestricht was restored to them, the only town yet remaining to Louis XIV. of so many conquests.

*Battle  
of  
Mons.*

Here the ambitious prince of Orange, who was too averse from the peace, though he knew that it was concluded, or on the point of being concluded, signalized himself in an odious manner. He attacked the duke of Luxemburg near Mons, with his whole forces. That worthy pupil of the great Condé was sur-

rised, but not vanquished. He even had the advantage. The peace had been signed four days before. What advantage then could the prince of Orange hope from a victory? and how could he wash away the stain of that blood which he wantonly shed? Is mankind ever to be the sport of a few illustrious murderers?

When the Dutch, by separating from their allies, as they did before during the negotiations of Westphalia, had secured a peace on such advantageous terms, Spain hastened to conclude, without giving herself any trouble about the empire. She gave up Franche-Comté, and almost all the conquered towns in the Netherlands, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Aire, St Omer, Ipres, Menin, Cassel, Maubeuge, Charlemont, and others; a new proof of the weakness of that vast monarchy.

Some time was still required to come to an accommodation with the empire; because France insisted upon full restitution being made to Sweden; to which the allied powers of the north refused to consent. But the emperor separated from them, and concluded his treaty on the fifth of February 1679, on terms exactly conformable to the peace of Munster, except that France had Friburg instead of Philipsburgh. At last the elector of Brandenburg and Denmark concluded a peace in the course of the same year. Sweden lost very little; yet her king, Charles XI., was so highly provoked, that he always retained the keenest resentment against Louis XIV., from whom he expected a more generous zeal for his interests.

According to the Abbé Mably, France committed great faults in her manner of treating the

Peace with Spain.

Peace with the emperor, the elector of Brandenburg, and Denmark.

Faults committed by

France in  
the  
treatment of  
Sweden.

interests of Sweden. 'First, she ought not to have made her peace with the emperor, without concluding that of her ally; because the principal interest of a prevailing power, which has carried on a war with success, is to make her alliance respected, sought after, and loved. In the second place, having given law to her enemies, she ought rather to have renounced her own advantages, than allow her ally to be obliged to make the least cession; because no conquest is equal to the reputation of being a generous and good friend.'\*

Louis engaged, by his treaty with Leopold, to restore the duke of Lorraine, but with a reservation of Nanci and the highways. However, the duke chose rather to remain without dominions, than agree to such conditions. We shall see his son Leopold, father of the emperor Francis I. recover the possession of Lorraine by the treaty of Ryswick.

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\* Droit public de l'Europe.

## CHAPTER IV.

**DURING THE PEACE, LOUIS XIV. DRAWS UPON HIMSELF THE HATRED OF THE POTENTATES. VIENNA BESIEGED BY THE TURKS. GENOA BOMBARDED AND REDUCED. DEATH OF COLBERT. REFLECTIONS ON HIS ADMINISTRATION.**

**LOUIS XIV.** having defeated those enemies whom he had drawn upon himself; having given peace to Europe upon his own terms; being in possession of Franche-comté, and having added a great part of Flanders to his dominions; decorated with the surname of Great, which had been bestowed upon him by flattery, or the admiration of his countrymen, would have been truly wise, if he had employed his power with moderation, as a father to his people, and an equitable arbiter to foreign nations; but, intoxicated with success and grandeur, he took some violent steps, by which he rendered himself odious, as they could not fail, sooner or later, to prove a source of public calamity. I dwell upon the faults of this so celebrated monarch, because they afford some excellent instructions

1680.  
Louis makes  
no  
prudent  
use of his  
good  
fortune.

Chambers of  
Metz  
and Brisac.

Several territories, which had formerly been dependent on the three bishoprics and Alsace, had been for a long time in the possession of different German princes, and Louis wanted again to unite them to the crown of France. For that purpose two chambers were established, the one at Metz, the other at Brisac ; and these tribunals having given a decree for the reunion, the king, by this means, did himself justice. The parliament of Besançon reunited Montbeliard as a fief of Franche-comté.

Strasburg  
subjected.

An attempt still bolder was executed the following year. Strasburg, a very powerful city, whose bridge over the Rhine opened a passage into the kingdom, was still free, and Louis earnestly desired to have it subjected to France. While he employed money and threatenings to influence the magistrates, he caused twenty thousand men to march into the neighbourhood, who soon determined the success of the negociation, and the treaty was immediately concluded. Strasburg capitulated, and preserved its ancient privileges. Vauban, who had fortified a great many places, exhausted all the powers of his genius upon this ; and certainly every precaution was necessary to keep a courageous people in subjection, who were extremely jealous of their liberty.

The  
princes in  
motion  
against  
France.

These conquests made in full peace, and the confiscation of dominions belonging to different sovereigns, could not fail to occasion hatred, distrust, and apprehensions. The emperor, the king of Sweden, and some other princes, had already attempted to arm the Germanic body ; and if the elector of Brandenburg, who had become more powerful by the recent acquisition



of Magdebourg, had not at that time supported the interests of France, the war would have been rekindled.

The affair of the reunion was to be examined at a congress held in Francfort, where the plenipotentiaries of Louis XIV. presented a memorial in French. Great disputes were raised on that language being used; on the title of Excellence, which was refused by the electors to the ministers of the princes of the empire; on the right of conferring separately, which the princes disputed with the electors; and these frivolous contentions, which were looked upon as matters of importance at that time, made the affair of the reunion be forgotten, the congress dissolved, and the business put off till the meeting of the diet at Ratisbon.

A congress, where they dispute about trifles.

At this diet, which was held in the year 1682, it was proposed to raise troops to support the ancient treaties; and the Circles of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia, formed a league with the emperor at Luxemburg, to which the king of Sweden, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the dukes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, very soon acceded. Thus did Leopold set the whole empire against France; not, like his ancestors, by absolute authority, but by exaggerating the strength and despotism of Louis. However, they durst not yet take up arms, and the emperor was even threatened with losing his hereditary dominions to the Turks.

A league formed by Leopold.

The court of Vienna having frequently attacked the privileges of the Hungarians, they again revolted; and the count de Teckeli, who was the chief of the rebels, had recourse to the

Rebellion of the Hungarians.

Turks, and put himself under their protection. Mahomet IV., who was then on the throne, and had already taken Candia from the Venetians; the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhinia, and Kaminiék from Poland; raised an army of two hundred thousand men against the house of Austria. Nothing could stop the progress of the Mussulmen, and Vienna was besieged. It was in vain that Teckeli represented to them the imprudence of this undertaking; for they must either very soon yield up their conquest, or engage against all the powers in Europe.

1683.  
Siege  
of Vienna.  
Saved  
by Sobieski.

If Cuprogli, the grand vizir, had been still alive, that capital must have fallen. The emperor fled to Passaw. The count de Stahrenberg, who was the governor of the city, had only a garrison of ten thousand men, and the want of troops was feebly supplied by the citizens and scholars; but the grand vizir Cara-Mustapha, effeminate, voluptuous, and ignorant, did not press the operations of the siege, nor give a general assault; being perhaps desirous, as it was imagined, to reserve to himself the treasures which he supposed had been accumulated there by the emperors. John Sobieski, king of Poland, arrived with his army, to which that of the empire was soon added; he attacked the entrenchments of the Turks, who, being seized with a panic, scarcely made any resistance, and left all to the conquerors.

Can it be believed that Leopold, at his return to Vienna, tried to compel that king of Poland who had just saved him, to submit to the humiliating ceremonial prescribed by his court? Sobieski spiritedly refused, and it was an additional triumph to him to be dispensed from that

*etiquette*. At present the imperial court has different ideas of grandeur, and every thing feels the progress of reason.

Before the irruption of the Turks into Austria, Louis XIV. caused Luxemburg to be blockaded. He pretended that Alost belonged to him by the treaty of Nimeguen, and supported his claims by arms. He suspended hostilities for a year, that Spain might assist the emperor, who was then in great danger; but it was not over when they were renewed. The French made themselves masters of Courtrai and Dixmude, bombarded, and then took Luxemburg. As it was impossible to resist, a negotiation was opened, and a truce of twenty years concluded. Spain gave up Luxemburg. The emperor abandoned Strasburg, the castle of Kehl, and a part of the reunion made by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, during the term of the truce. Being compelled by necessity, they watched an opportunity to free themselves, and it was not long before one presented.

Luxemburg  
bombarded  
by the  
French.

The dreadful power of Louis XIV. displayed itself in every quarter. His navy increased prodigiously; and the ports of Dunkirk, Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort, were much to be admired, both because of their construction and the naval force which they contained. Above one hundred ships of the line could carry dismay over the globe. Squadrons were employed against the African pirates. Bomb-ketches, which had been newly invented by a Frenchman, thundered against Algiers in 1681, and a second time in 1684. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, humbled themselves under this destructive scourge, and sent to beg for mercy.

The navy  
of  
Louis XIV.

Genoa  
bombarded.  
The doge  
at  
Versailles.  
1685.

Genoa was crushed and humbled in like manner with the Corsairs, it having been imputed to them as a crime, that they had sold powder to the pirates, and constructed some galleys for Spain. It suffered a bombardment, and part of its palaces was reduced to ashes. The doge, and four of the principal senators, were obliged to go in person and implore the king's mercy. The answer of the doge, Imperiali, is universally known ; when he was asked by one of the ministers, what he thought most extraordinary at Versailles ? he replied, *To see myself here.* The civilities of that haughty monarch were but a slender consolation for his severities. According to the laws of Genoa, a doge forfeits his dignity when he leaves the city ; but, upon this occasion, they were obliged to derogate from this law.

Embassy  
from Siam.

An embassy which had been lately received from the king of Siam, seemed to add lustre to the reign of Louis ; but, however, it was, in reality, nothing but the consequence of an intrigue of an obscure Greek, called Constantius, who was become the minister of that Indian despot, and expected to dethrone him. The ambassadors gave out, that their master was not far from embracing Christianity, and proposed to enter into a commercial treaty with the French, who had newly settled on the coast of Coromandel, whom he preferred to all the Europeans that were known in India. The king of France was too fond of every thing that encouraged his vanity, to let slip such a flattering opportunity. He therefore sent two ambassadors to Siam, one of whom was the celebrated abbé du Choisi, accompanied by six Je-

suits, who were afterwards followed by some troops. Constantius was put to death as a traitor; the French were either killed or driven out of the country by the people of Siam; which was all the fruit reaped from the expense occasioned by this extraordinary embassy, from whence the missionaries expected the greatest advantages.

In the year 1683, died M. Colbert, 'that ever memorable man,' says the president Henault, 'whose cares were divided between economy and prodigality. From that regularity of disposition by which he was characterized, he laid plans of frugality in his closet, to find funds which he was to lavish in the eyes of all Europe, either for the glory of his master, or from the necessity of obeying him. He was a man of prudence, without those faults to which genius is liable.' The loss of that minister was a very remarkable event. The king was indebted to him, in a great measure, for his prosperity, and without him the great works which were executed could not have been performed. Louis could not have triumphed over so many enemies, nor at the same time have erected such a number of superb monuments. What followed afterwards, shows how much every thing depends upon the proper administration of the finances; like blood to the human body, it gives life to the state.

France was already sensible of the consequence of a monarch having an immoderate passion for pomp, vain expenses, ruinous pleasures, and for war, which was still more destructive. The ordinary revenues amounted to a hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty-

Great loss  
by  
the death of  
Colbert.

Had  
recourse  
to  
pernicious  
expedients.

seven or twenty-eight livres the merk. The war of 1672 obliged the minister to revive abuses which he wished to have abolished, and to have recourse to expedients that are always hurtful; in a word, four millions of extraordinaries, raised in six years, were the resource of this great statesman.

Obliged  
to  
deviate from  
his  
own  
principles.

‘He found it impossible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved,’ says a celebrated historian; ‘for it evidently appears, by all his instructions which remain, that he was persuaded the true riches of a country consisted in the number of inhabitants, the culture of the lands, the industry of the people, and the prosperous state of commerce. He saw that the king possessed very few crown lands, and, being no more than the steward of the people’s wealth, could not be truly rich, but by taxes easily collected and equally proportioned.’ \*

His  
situation  
different  
from that of  
Sulli.

If these were the principles of Colbert, if he did not flatter the passions of his master, if he yielded only to the necessities of the present moment, what would a minister of inferior abilities and less integrity have done under such a king as Louis XIV.? ‘Sulli,’ adds M. de Voltaire, ‘enriched the state by a prudent economy, which was seconded by a frugal valiant king, who, at the head of his army, was a soldier, and, when living with his people, a father. . . . Colbert supported the state notwithstanding the luxury of a sovereign fond of expense, who lavished away his whole revenue to give splendour to his government.’ The

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\* Age of Louis XIV., c. 28.

different character of the two princes accounts for the difference of the administration.

But it will always be a matter of astonishment, after having seen the example of Sulli, that Colbert could have given so much encouragement to promote the trading in luxuries and rich manufactures, and so little to agriculture, whose produce, though more slow, yet would have been more considerable, and of more solid advantage. His system can never be preferred, when it is known that the silk manufacture has greatly diminished the produce of the land. We cannot easily be persuaded that Colbert had the good of the people so much at heart as the desire of pleasing his sovereign. Yet it is said, that, at the close of his life, he lost the royal favour, which had cost him so much uneasiness, and for which he had made so many sacrifices!

Was his  
system the  
best?

These reflections would be misplaced, if they did not prepare the reader for the events which ought to follow. The purpose of studying history can never be attained but by discovering the springs which set the affairs of the world in motion, and by learning to observe the effects in the causes. When the means were lessened, the powers of Louis XIV. fell into decay, but he still continued to preserve a considerable superiority. He will still be seen imperious and enterprising, and very successful, before he arrives at that period when he was depressed by adversity. In the following chapter, he will be seen contending with the court of Rome, and persecuting the Calvinists of France; a very curious subject, which had an influence on the system of Europe, and is

These  
objects are  
essential  
to  
history.

more useful than the uniform narration of wars and negotiations. Practical consequences result from it, of as much importance to the happiness of states as to individuals.



## CHAPTER V.

DISPUTES WITH THE JANSENISTS. QUARRELS OF  
LOUIS XIV. WITH INNOCENT XI. REVOCATION OF  
THE EDICT OF NANTES.

EVER since the time of the minority of Louis XIV., the disputes with the Jansenists agitated France, without occasioning those violent commotions which the bigotry of sects had produced in the days of fanaticism. Theologians, who disagreed in opinion upon the abstract subject of grace, contended with their pens, censuring one another with bitterness, giving vent to reciprocal hatred, and animating the well or ill meant zeal of an ignorant multitude. They adhered obstinately to their opinions, some from prejudice, others from interest of party, a great many from religious sentiments, and sometimes embarrassed the court, which did not know how to put an end to their contentions; but such was the steadiness of government, though too little acquainted with these delicate subjects, that it prevented the ferment from bursting forth in the kingdom.

Theological  
disputes.

As the Jansenists were afraid to break with

Whether  
the five  
propositions  
were  
the doctrine  
of  
Jansen.

the church of Rome, whose doctrines they maintained against the Protestants, they thought proper to say, that the five propositions condemned by Innocent X. and Clement VII. were not in the work of Jansen, and therefore the author ought not to be condemned. That subterfuge irritated the Jesuits and their adherents, who immediately exclaimed, that the authority of the Holy See was insulted by rebels. Instead of dispelling all doubt, by simply pointing out the pages in which these propositions were contained, they would compel them to submit ; and the assembly of the clergy, which met in 1661, commanded that a formulary should be subscribed, declaring that these propositions were actually in the work of Jansen ; and the king went in person to parliament to change the formulary into a law of the kingdom. The nuns of Port-Royal refusing to subscribe it ; and what signified their signature ? were banished from the convent. In 1665, Alexander VII. published a new formulary, stronger than that of the clergy, to condemn the propositions *in the author's own sense* ; which all ecclesiastics, secular and regular, prelates as well as the rest, and even nuns, were obliged to subscribe ; and the king again caused a declaration for that purpose to be registered in his presence.

Happily  
the  
times were  
changed.

Some sour tempers fancied that they saw those deplorable times returned in which the Greeks disturbed the world by their subtilties ; when parties were heated and consciences alarmed by formularies ; when the emperors, by commanding opinions, and treating untractable enthusiasts with cruelty, equally endangered the faith and the empire. Happily, the vivacity of

the French found vent on other subjects ; fanaticism had spent its force, the clergy were by no means seditious, and the all-powerful monarch had nothing to apprehend but rumours, about which he gave himself very little trouble.

Persecution, however, always animates the persecuted. Four courageous and inflexible bishops obstinately opposed the court ; and doctor Arnaud, the brother of one of these bishops, continued constantly to write, and railed against the morality of the Jesuits, who were looked upon as the authors of these disturbances. A bankruptcy which they had made for four hundred and fifty thousand ducats at Seville, in 1640, afforded new colours for the hideous picture which, for a long time, had been given of that society.

Nine commissioners, who had been already named by Alexander VII., set out to try the four prelates who had rejected the formulary, and sheltered themselves under the distinction of *fact* and *right*, when nineteen other bishops suddenly declared in their favour ; upon which the court, being embarrassed, became desirous of an accommodation. The court of Rome immediately changed its tone, and Clement IX., Rospigliosi, connived at the distinction of *right* and *fact*, desiring only that they would sign the formulary *sincerely*, without requiring that it should be done *purely and simply* ; which gave great offence to the obstinate. Hereupon all seemed to be pacified ; severities were at an end ; the famous Arnaud was presented to Louis ; and the *peace of the church* was celebrated, in 1669, by a medal.

Could it be supposed, that a set of angry

The  
Jesuits  
had too great  
influence.

theologians, irreconcilable in their opinions, rivals in reputation and interest, looking upon one another as heretics and corruptors, unhappily having it too much in their power to awaken discord by writings or cabals, would sacrifice their hatred and prejudices for the sake of peace? The Jesuits were become too powerful to let their enemies rest in peace, especially after having endured such bitter reproaches as had been levelled against them. They governed the consciences of the principal men in the kingdom, and had the art to secure themselves in the midst of a voluptuous court, where the austerity of Jansenism was only proper to inspire disgust. Some eminent men, particularly Bourdaloue, cleared their doctrine from the censures that were laid upon it, and the sermons of that respectable orator were the best answer that could be given to the *Provincial Letters*: but at last, Father de la Chaise, who was the king's confessor from 1675 to 1709, acquired an almost absolute power over the clergy, disposed of the benefices, and, by an artful use of his favour, made his society all-powerful.

The  
disputes  
continued.

By this means the contentions could not fail to continue, especially as Louis, always involved either in the hurry of a court or of war, illiterate, and fancying that nothing was necessary but to give orders for the execution of whatever was suggested to him, was very far from adopting the best principles of government with regard to objects of this nature.

The affair  
of  
the regale.

His disputes with the court of Rome about the regale and the franchises, served at least to

save what we call *the liberties of the Gallican church* from oblivion. By the ancient privilege of the *regale*, the kings of France disposed of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, and nominated to the benefices of the diocese. Some churches towards the Alps and the Pyrenees alleged that they were exempt from this claim, though the edict of 1673 declared that it extended over the whole kingdom. All the bishops submitted, except those of Alet and Pamiers, who were distinguished by their virtues, and celebrated by their opposition to the formulary. The first died soon after, but the second did not continue less inflexible.

Innocent XI., Odescalchi, who was elected pope in 1676, a man of virtue, but exceedingly bigotted, more bold and steady than was proper, as affairs were then situated, who neither loved Louis XIV. nor the Jesuits, declared in favour of the adversaries of the *regale*, though accused of Jansenism, and sent briefs calculated to encourage them. A monk, whom the chapter of Pamiers had appointed grand vicar after the death of the bishop, carried his insolence to the greatest height. Being condemned by the parliament of Toulouse to be executed in effigy, and drawn upon a hurdle, he did not desist from fulminating excommunications, annulling the decrees of the parliament, and the sentences of the metropolitan.

Innocent XI.  
supports  
the  
refractory.

The clergy, as well as the nobles, were in general very submissive; their zeal might be depended on, and it was of consequence to have their support. An extraordinary assembly being convoked for that purpose, they acknowledged the right of the *regale* over all the

Assembly  
of  
the clergy.

churches ; and wrote a most respectful letter to the pope, in which the following maxim is to be found, though too seldom attended to : *It is better to sacrifice some privileges, than to disturb the public peace.* While the clergy were attentive to their privileges, they conducted themselves as if they made a concession to the sovereign.

*In  
four articles.*

At this time appeared the four famous propositions of this assembly, in which it was established, 1. That princes are not subject to ecclesiastical authority in temporals. 2. That a general council is superior to the pope, according to the unalterable decrees of the council of Constance. 3. That the rules and customs of the Gallican church ought to be supported. 4. That the sentence of the pope is not infallible in matters of faith, till the approbation of the church has been obtained. In the year 1682, the king published an edict, by which he commanded these four articles to be registered, and inculcated all over the kingdom.

*The pope  
annals  
the whole.*

Innocent replied to the bishops in that imperious style which the popes formerly employed and supported with anathemas. He at first lamented, in the words of the prophet, *The children of my mother have risen up against me, and have made war upon me.* In the next place, he accused them of meanness, for not having contended for the rights and privileges of the church, like their predecessors. He represented the foundation of discipline and the hierarchy as overturned, even the faith attacked by the regale ; which, according to him, appeared very plain, by the terms the king employed in assuming to himself the right of conferring be-

nefices, not as a concession of the church, but as a privilege of the crown. He accused them of having given up an unalienable right, after they had declared the regale to be a kind of servitude. Could they then place the churches under the yoke of secular power, they whose duty it was to expose themselves to slavery to preserve its liberty? To conclude, by the authority which he had received from the Almighty, he cancelled and annulled whatever had been done by the assembly.

The time was still distant when the bulls and briefs of the court of Rome, on the subject of ancient claims, were scarcely to affect popular credulity. So much were the principles of the early ages obscured by old prejudices, that the doctrine established by the clergy of France appeared quite new to a number of theologians. Many of the doctors of the Sorbonne rather chose to be banished, than submit to the four articles. The theologians assembled forty-five times to censure a proposition, which reserved the privilege of deciding, in matters of opinion, to the pontiff. After all, a great number of bishops did not obtain their bulls in future till they disavowed the authority of the council held in 1682; and thus, the liberties of the Gallican church, which have been since so readily adopted by the other churches, found a number of obstacles and contradictions in France.

The more vigour shown by Louis XIV., the greater was the pope's obstinacy in opposing him; and, notwithstanding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which I shall soon have occasion to mention, the quarrel daily increased.

The liberties  
of  
the clergy  
meet  
with great  
obstructions.

The pope  
continues  
the  
dispute.

Louis  
could not  
prevent  
the abolition  
of  
franchises  
at  
Rome.

So very far did the privileges of ambassadors extend at Rome, that not only their palaces, but the quarters in which they resided, afforded an asylum from the pursuits of justice. Innocent XI. wished to reform this abuse, to which all the crowned heads, except France, consented ; and the king was very little affected by the example of the others, saying, that it was he that should serve for an example. The pope, however, by a bull in 1687, abolished the franchises of their quarters, with a threatening of excommunication against whoever should attempt to support them.

Haughty  
behaviour of  
the  
ambassador  
of  
France  
to  
Innocent XI.

This step produced the effect which was naturally to be expected ; and Louis, being provoked, gave vent to his resentment. He sent the marquis de Lavardin ambassador to Rome, who made a public entry, as if in triumph, accompanied by seven or eight hundred military men ; and, having taken possession of his quarter, made them go their rounds, and set the sovereign pontiff at defiance. Lavardin was excommunicated, and the French church of St Louis, where he was received, laid under an interdict. Innocent revenged himself as he could, without being troubled about the fatal consequences which his vengeance might draw upon him.

The danger  
to  
which the  
pope  
exposed  
himself.

The people complained, that there were no less than thirty-five vacant dioceses in the kingdom ; for the pope had for a long time refused his bulls to those who were appointed by the king. Had he not reason, then, to dread that he would be deprived of the privilege of instituting bishops, and receiving the annates, a right founded upon a continuation of ancient abuses ?



While there were such complaints against bulls, censures, and refusals, contrary to the good both of church and state, was there not room to apprehend that all these difficulties would be suddenly terminated by ceasing to acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction, and by reducing the primacy of the Holy See to what it was in ancient times? An appeal to a general council on the subject of the bull against the franchises; a proposal made in full parliament to demand a national council, and to restore the vigour of the pragmatic of Charles VII.; the dissatisfaction of the court, and likewise of the episcopate; might, all together, contribute to bring things to the greatest extremity. France, with a patriarch, would very soon have been weaned from the court of Rome.

If Louis XIV. had been inclined to put that scheme in execution, he could not have been prevented; but if he was violent and overbearing with regard to temporals, he was equally reserved on every thing which was connected with spirituals. He was satisfied with causing Avignon to be seized in 1688; and in 1693 the quarrel was brought to an end, by Innocent XII. giving bulls to the appointed bishops, after each of them had testified by letter his sorrow, and made a formal disavowal of all that had been done against the pope's authority by that famous assembly.

The  
dispute  
terminated  
in  
1693.

To be at war with the pope, and at the same time desirous of abolishing a sect which was an enemy of the papacy, was a sort of political and religious contradiction, which perfectly suited the haughty temper of the monarch. The clergy and the Jesuits had for a long time flattered

Project to  
destroy  
Calvinism,

themselves with the hopes of extirpating Calvinism, which had been always tolerated, but was without any dangerous power, and as peaceable at this time as it had been turbulent before the taking of Rochelle. Even during the troubles of the Fronde, the Calvinists continued in peace. Government might have permitted them to remain so ; it profited by their industry and services ; there was no room to apprehend any danger from them ; and nothing could be easier than to restrain them within the bounds of their duty, since they were made sensible it was for their own advantage.

Missionaries  
followed  
by  
rigorous  
measures.

The court at first sent some missionaries among them, and lavished money to make proselytes ; and, according to custom, greatly exaggerated the good effects of these two methods. It was thought proper, after gaining some, to restrain the rest ; and that liberty which they enjoyed was gradually restricted. An alarming partiality was shown on several occasions. A declaration was published in 1681, for the admission of children of seven years of age among the number of the converted ; upon which some Protestant families began to fly the kingdom, and this occasioned severities which rendered the evil more contagious. Some popular commotions followed ; and two celebrated preachers, Chamier and Chomel, were broken alive upon the wheel ; so that from that moment the idea of martyrdom kindled the flame of enthusiasm.

Severities  
after  
the death  
of  
Colbert.

Colbert, like a true statesman, protected the Calvinists, from a conviction that they were as useful as the other subjects, and that persecution could produce nothing but mischief ; and,

if we may use the expression, by his death they were delivered up to the chancellor le Tellier, and his son the marquis de Louvois ; two men, whose chief maxim was, that every one should bend or tremble at the name of the king. In 1684, they sent troops into the districts inhabited by Protestants ; and Louvois wrote, *That it was his majesty's pleasure, that all who did not conform to his religion should suffer the greatest severities.* Such were the outrages committed in consequence of this order, that the Protestants always represented this new persecution as a copy of those which had been raised by the tyrants who wanted to destroy Christianity in its earliest ages. It is dreadful for a king thus to draw upon himself the hatred of his people, when he could so easily conciliate their love and respect. How many curses has that *dragooning* caused to be denounced upon the head of Louis XIV. ! and what a hideous picture did the celebrated Saurin draw of him, even in that pulpit where he preached the gospel !

After these arbitrary proceedings, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had been passed by Henry IV. in 1598, and confirmed by Louis XIII. Liberty of conscience was abolished ; all the Huguenot churches were destroyed ; declarations and decrees of council followed one another in rapid succession to heighten their despair ; an order was issued, even to take their children from them, and put them into the hands of Catholic relations ; the ministers were banished ; and the rest were prohibited, under the severest penalties, from leaving the kingdom.

They no longer looked upon their country but with detestation, and were hurried away by

1685.  
Revocation  
of  
the Edict  
of  
Nantes.

Flight of  
the  
Huguenots.

hatred and fanaticism. Notwithstanding the threatenings, punishments, and every precaution to prevent them, above five hundred thousand made their escape, carrying along with them not only immense sums of money, but likewise industry and manufactures, by which the kingdom was enriched. The people in the north of Germany, Holland, and England, received these useful fugitives with open arms. Their sentiments against the king were heard all over Europe ; and they who carried neither arts nor professions among foreigners, carried with them courage and a thirst of vengeance, which they had but too many opportunities of displaying in wars against their country. The loss of population was, perhaps, of less detriment than the loss of commerce ; for a part of those commodities which used to be purchased in France, was from that time manufactured in foreign countries by French refugees, whose industry was carefully cherished and perpetuated wherever they settled.

Opinions  
upon this  
subject.

These were the principal effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It has been celebrated by a hundred panegyrists as one of the most glorious actions of Louis XIV. ; but panegyrists are not historians, and never see objects but in one light. They have supposed heresy destroyed, but still the number of Calvinists is very considerable. On the other hand, experience has shown, that queen Christina thought justly, when, in a letter from Rome, she said, *I consider France at present in the light of a diseased person, whose legs and arms have been cut off to cure him of a disorder which might have been entirely remedied by patience and gentle*.

ness. Yet that princess blamed the four articles of the clergy, and maintained the infallibility of the pope. She cannot, therefore, be suspected of having judged rather as a philosopher than a Catholic.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, following the example of Louis, forbid his Protestant subjects, under pain of death, to exercise their religion in public. The Vaudois revolted, of whom three thousand were killed, ten thousand made prisoners, and the rest escaped. It was not long before the duke recalled them, and thought himself happy at their return, by restoring to them their former privileges. Were these poor mountaineers to be compared to the merchants, mechanics, officers, and learned men, irrecoverably lost to France?

Severities  
against the  
Vaudois.

About the same time, a blind zeal for religion paved the way for the catastrophe of the Stuarts in England, which was very soon followed by a general war against Louis XIV. We ought to pay the greatest attention to England, when she exhibits those grand scenes in which all the energy of the national character is displayed.

## CHAPTER VI.

END OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND. PRETENDED POPIISH PLOT. CHARLES DISSOLVES SEVERAL PARLIAMENTS, AND CONTINUES ABSOLUTE TILL HIS DEATH.

Discontent  
and  
cabals in  
England.  
1674-1685.

CHARLES II. having been obliged, as we have already observed, to make peace with the Dutch in 1674, his connexions with France, his schemes of absolute government, his desire to favour the Catholics, and his brother the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, being of that religion, constantly occasioned a dangerous ferment. The earl of Shaftesbury, who was chancellor, and the principal author of the bad measures which he had adopted, no sooner saw the king soften, and begin to deviate from the system of the *cabal*, than he immediately joined the malecontents. This perfidy was the more fatal, as, to profound policy, and a depraved heart, the earl added an uncommon share of abilities.

Charles in  
secret  
intelligence  
with  
Louis XIV.

The general wish was, that Charles would join the confederates against the formidable power of Louis XIV. The interest of the kingdom required it. The parliament offered plenti-

ful supplies, and were deceived by some demonstrations of zeal exhibited by the king, who was chained down by his natural indolence and love of pleasure. The promises of France had their usual effect, and Louis crowned his triumphs by the treaty of Nimeguen. The vexation which this could not fail to produce, was not the only cause of murmuring and animosity.

The duke of Lauderdale governed Scotland like a tyrant; where he committed the most enormous iniquities, sparing nobody, but more particularly persecuting the Presbyterians. All the news from that kingdom, and the outcries of the Scots, were calculated to stir the English, whose minds were agitated by distrust, into commotion.

Oppression  
of  
Scotland.

In this critical and turbulent state, the credulous multitude greedily caught at chimeras which suited with their prejudices. A phantom of a *Popish plot* generated almost incredible disturbances; and a worthless impostor caused that to be received as certain, which common sense ought to have rejected from its absurdity. This infamous wretch was called Titus Oates. He had been accused of perjury in his youth, had turned Roman Catholic, and entered with the Jesuits at St Omer's, from whence he was very soon dismissed; when resentment, poverty, and wickedness, inspired him with a resolution worthy of himself. He set himself up as an accuser, declaring, that his change of religion was only pretended; that his purpose was to discover the secrets of the Papists and Jesuits, and that he had succeeded; upon which he disclosed a strange mystery, of which we may judge by a simple exposition.

Prejudices  
against  
the  
Catholics.

Depositions  
of Oates  
on the  
Popish plot.

He asserted, that the Pope, claiming the sovereignty of England, had intrusted the exercise of his power to the Jesuits; and of course their general had disposed of the principal employments by patents, to which his seal was affixed. Fifty Jesuits, in London, had unanimously determined to cause the king to be assassinated. Father de la Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV., had deposited ten thousand pounds sterling for the regicide. The crown was to be offered to the duke of York; but if he refused to accept it, as the gift of the Pope, his death was likewise determined. That order were the authors of the fire of London in 1666, when they got immense sums of money by plunder; that they intended another fire and a dreadful massacre, the plan for the execution being already formed; and universal destruction was to be spread, that they might govern the kingdom and establish Popery.

Coleman  
arrested.  
Tumult  
in London,  
1678.

Upon these depositions of Oates, the whole nation was seized with the same frenzy; and Coleman, the duchess of York's secretary, was seized. Among his papers were found a very indiscreet correspondence with Father de la Chaise and the Pope's nuncio, which contained obscure hints of projects, conveyed in ambiguous terms, which might be easily turned to a bad sense. Though his letters prove nothing but the indiscreet zeal of a Catholic, they were construed into a certain proof of the conspiracy. The murder of the justice of peace, who took Oates's deposition, strengthened the prejudices and increased the alarm. The streets of London were barricadoed, as in times of the most imminent danger; and the whole city was



agitated with commotions of the most unhappy tendency.

Charles had too much good sense not to see that this plot was a forgery ; but he could neither dispel the error, nor resist the torrent ; and his chief minister, Danby, even laid the affair before parliament. The parliament, having examined Oates, very soon declared, that the Papists had entered into an infernal conspiracy against religion and the kingdom ; and a lodging was assigned to the impostor in the palace of Whitehall, with a pension of twelve hundred pounds sterling. Another villain, that he might be entitled to a similar reward, came and acted the same part, adding new absurdities to the depositions of the former ; and these two false witnesses were credited like oracles.

The  
affair laid  
before the  
parliament.

The parliament proceeded to the greatest extremities, and established the *Test*, an oath, by which Popery was accused of idolatry. It is very extraordinary, that the laws of a Christian country should place the Catholics on a level with Pagans ! Whoever refused to take the test, was excluded from sitting in parliament. The duke of York in tears, protesting that he would not exercise his religion openly, obtained an exception in his favour, by a majority of only two voices. Danby was next accused of having sold a peace to France, which seemed to be proved by one of his letters, written during the negotiations of Nimeguen ; but the king, with his own hand, had added, *This letter was written by my order*. The secrets of the ministry would have employed the audacious turbulence of the commons, if Charles had not at last dissolved that parliament, to which he had formerly been

Popery  
taxed with  
idolatry  
by a test.

Danby  
accused.

indebted for so many important services. It was that of 1661.

Danby  
prosecuted.

A second parliament, which was assembled in 1679, followed the paths of the first, renewed the accusation of the minister, though provided with a general pardon from the king, and maintained, that a pardon from the crown could not save him from an impeachment by the commons. They declared, that if the person accused did not appear, he should be deemed guilty; upon which Danby presented himself, and was put in prison. This was only a prelude to the attempts of parliament.

Bill to  
exclude the  
duke  
of York.

It was in vain that the king persuaded his brother to withdraw from the kingdom, in hopes that his absence would lessen the hatred which his character and religion had excited. In vain did he admit the popular leaders into his council, that he might recover the confidence of the people; and, though Shaftesbury was created president of that council, he was no less zealous against the royal family. Charles saw that they intended to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and he endeavoured to ward off the blow. He offered to limit the prerogative in such a manner, that the religion of that prince could not give any umbrage; but all his offers and instances could not prevent a bill from being passed by the commons, which excluded the duke from the succession. If Charles had entertained that regard for his queen, Catharine of Portugal, which he ought to have had for a virtuous wife, or had she brought him any children, he would not have been exposed to such dreadful storms.

The famous *Habeas Corpus* act, against arbitrary imprisonments, was the work of this parliament. By it, every prisoner, upon his own requisition, must be carried before a court of justice, accused and tried within a period limited by the law, and, if restored to liberty by the judges, cannot again be imprisoned for the same cause. The bill passed, and is at present one of the foundations of English liberty.

*Habeas  
corpus act.*

Charles finding that he could not put a stop to the seditious proceedings of the parliament, thought proper to dissolve them; but that did not restore tranquillity. The Scotch Presbyterians had assassinated the primate, archbishop of St Andrews; and new severities made them revolt and take up arms. The duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, was sent to reduce them; and, as these fanatics had no leaders but their clergy, he met with little difficulty; but the ferment was renewed in England. The *Whigs* and *Tories*, names which ever since that time have been famous, divided the whole nation. The first opposed the court, and demanded that a parliament should be immediately assembled; while the second testified a profound respect for the will of the sovereign.

*Parliament  
dissolved.*

The Whigs carried their point, and procured the calling of the third parliament, which began with acts of violence against the Tories, without even respecting the *habeas corpus* act. False zealots for liberty always become oppressors.

*Third  
parliament.  
1680.*

Coleman and six Jesuits had been condemned and executed on account of the Popish plot; about which no doubt was allowed to be entertained. Five Catholic peers, accused of

*Executions  
on  
account  
of the  
Popish plot.*

the same offence, waited their sentence in confinement. The eldest of them, the viscount Stafford, an old man of a virtuous irreproachable character, fell a sacrifice to injustice. Though his accusers were not worthy of credit, and their depositions absurd, yet he was condemned even by the house of peers. He died like a hero, protesting his innocence to the last ; with which the people were so struck, that the illusion almost instantly vanished, at least it put a stop to such odious prosecutions. Oates was convicted of being an impostor in the reign of James II., and condemned to be put in the pillory, and afterwards to perpetual imprisonment ; but was, in the sequel, rewarded by king William.

Fourth  
parliament  
likewise  
dissolved.

The complaisance which the want of money obliged Charles to show, did not prevent the commons from continuing their arrogance, and desiring that the bill of exclusion, levelled at the duke of York, should be passed into a law ; declaring, that, unless it was done, they would not grant the supplies ; so that the king found it necessary to dissolve the parliament. Charles summoned a fourth parliament to meet at Oxford, where he hoped the same seditious spirit would not prevail as had done in London ; but his expectations were frustrated ; for they likewise insisted on the bill of exclusion, and even rejected an expedient which the most violent should have approved ; it was to banish the duke of York for life, who might have the title of King, but without any power, and the next heir to govern in quality of regent. This formidable parliament was likewise dissolved in 1681.

Charles being resolved never to expose himself any more to the attempts of his parliaments, adopted the economical system of Elizabeth, which was so advantageous for the crown. He lessened his expenses considerably, and thereby added to his funds ; and, in proportion as his wants were diminished, rendered his authority respectable ; in one word, he became absolute over the three kingdoms. His agreeable temper and pleasing manners might have made him adored by his subjects ; but, unfortunately, he yielded to his inclination for despotism, or rather gave himself up to the guidance of his brother the duke of York, who spread terror through the whole kingdom. London was stripped of its privileges, and Scotland groaned under the most oppressive tyranny. The king's brother was more the sovereign, and better served than Charles himself ; which occasioned the following expression of the famous poet Waller : *Charles, in resentment to his parliament, who would not suffer the duke of York to succeed him, was resolved that he should reign beforehand.*

The king becomes absolute by means of economy.

A conspiracy, formed by the earl of Shaftesbury, in which the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russel, Grey, Howard, and others, entered, might have overturned the government, if the impetuous temper of Shaftesbury, provoked by some unforeseen delays, had not made him withdraw to Holland. The rest were betrayed, and Howard obtained a pardon by discovering his accomplices.

Conspiracy discovered.

Russel, who was the idol of the people, suffered upon a scaffold with the greatest courage. Sidney, who, by his vast genius and principles

Deaths of Russel and Sidney.

of liberty, had made a figure in the time of the republic, suffered the same fate with the same constancy, and congratulated himself that he was dying for a cause which he had always supported as the best. The duke of Monmouth was pardoned; but, having retracted his confession, was obliged to fly from court in the year 1683.

Principles  
of  
passive  
obedience.

The king ruled with absolute authority till his death; and the duke of York, without having taken the Test, resumed the employment of lord high-admiral. The doctrine of passive obedience, or non-resistance, seemed to be established on the ruins of the parliamentary principles. The university of Oxford even condemned the following propositions, among many others: *All civil authority is originally derived from the people. Self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature, and puts a stop to the efficacy of other laws when opposed to it.* To what lengths could not monarchy have reached, if it had fallen into other hands than those of Charles II. ? That prince, who was of an amiable character, and had a great share of abilities, but imprudent, and corrupted by luxury, died at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1685. During his life, he seemed to be a Deist; but, at his death, he showed himself a Catholic, by receiving the sacraments of the church of Rome. His brother was acknowledged, without any difficulty, under the title of James II.

Death  
of  
Charles II.

## CHAPTER VII.

JAMES II. DRAWS UPON HIMSELF THE HATRED OF  
THE ENGLISH. DETHRONED BY WILLIAM PRINCE  
OF ORANGE. THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION FIXED.

JAMES II. possessed both virtue and courage, though with much more slender abilities than his brother, yet not without capacity. He might have been one of the greatest kings in Europe, if he had shown more regard to the religion and laws of his country ; but an unfortunate passion for arbitrary power, and an indiscreet zeal for the church of Rome, exposed him to the hatred of his people. Instead of regulating his conduct from experience, he let himself be hurried away by his principles, and, in a reign of four years, committed so many faults, that he may be called the instrument of his own misfortunes.

His first proceedings, and his language at his accession, promised an equitable government, and all was joy and confidence : the hearts of the people seemed to fly to meet him, and a moderate share of prudence would have re-

James II.  
hated by the  
nation.  
1685—1688.

Good  
beginnings  
badly  
supported.

moved every subject of uneasiness ; but these prejudices in his favour were of no long continuance. Though the council was composed of Protestants, it was known that Romish priests, and more particularly Jesuits, were the secret advisers of the monarch. What influence was not to be expected from their suggestions ?

The  
parliament  
favour  
him.

He soon showed a contempt for the laws by publicly assisting at mass, and by raising taxes without the authority of parliament ; but that body, according to custom, was soon assembled. The Tories, or Royalists, prevailed there, and James had every thing to hope. In his speech to parliament, he renewed the promise of following the established laws, and maintaining the Protestant religion ; but at the same time he gave them to understand, and it was a bad prognostic, that he could do without a parliament, if he found them unwilling to grant supplies. They assured him that he should have the same revenue which was granted to his brother Charles, twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Duke of  
Monmouth's  
rebellion.

The duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles, rebelled against the king his uncle, whom, in his manifesto, he called a tyrant and Popish usurper. The parliament declared the duke guilty of high treason, and granted forty thousand pounds to the king to quash the rebellion. This proof of zeal was followed by the defeat and taking of Monmouth, who was executed. James let slip an excellent opportunity of making himself beloved for his clemency ; but the great misfortune was, that he made himself detested by his barbarity. On pretence of punishing the guilty, an inhuman offi-



cer of the army, colonel Kirke, and, still more, Jefferies, the lord chief-justice, bathed themselves in blood. Even several women of rank were put to death for having charitably received some of the fugitives; and Jefferies, though loaded with universal execration, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom.

However, all was quiet and submissive. The parliament of Scotland no longer breathed the spirit of independence; but, immersed in slavery, by their acts acknowledged the *absolute* power of the king, and in every thing conformed to his pleasure. The English parliament granted him a larger supply than was asked, though the king had given a general dispensation from taking the test, which was established during the former reign against the Roman Catholic religion; but this dispensation, which the Commons durst not examine, was taken into consideration by the House of Peers; upon which, James, who could not bear the least shadow of opposition, prorogued the parliament.

Upon this, the alarm against Popery began to revive, from apprehensions founded on the most striking proofs. Father Peters, a Jesuit, the king's confessor, an intriguing zealot, was the soul of the privy-council. From the beginning, the Spanish ambassador represented the danger of placing excessive confidence in the priests. James, asking him, if the king of Spain did not consult his confessor? the ambassador frankly replied, *Yes, Sir; and that is the very reason our affairs succeed so badly.* The duke of Ormond, and other Protestants of high rank, lost their influence; several noblemen and mi-

Dispensation  
from  
the test.

Father  
Peters is  
too  
great credit.

nisters embraced the Romish religion. The dispensing power, which had hitherto been looked upon as the royal prerogative, became a theme of dispute after the examination of it had been prohibited. This delicate question threw men's minds into a ferment ; and, on this occasion, the king's imprudence overleaped all bounds.

Great faults  
of  
the king  
from  
zeal for  
the Romish  
religion.

At the time when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the clamours of the French refugees had irritated the implacable enemies of the Romish religion, the king established an arbitrary tribunal, like the high-commission court of Elizabeth, where the bishop of London was suspended, for having spared a clergyman who had preached against the doctrine of the church of Rome. He violated the privileges of the universities, by introducing Roman Catholics ; and granted an universal toleration, of which it was evident that the Catholics were the true object. He sent an ambassador extraordinary to the pope, though all correspondence with Rome was forbidden as treasonable, and received the pope's nuncio in London, who consecrated bishops, published pastoral instructions, and seemed to live in a country submissive to his authority. At last, the instances of that prince's misconduct were so frequent and dangerous, that even Innocent XI. blamed the excess of his zeal, which the court of Rome foresaw would produce fatal consequences.

Prosecution  
of  
six bishops.

Six bishops refused to publish the declaration for liberty of conscience, because it was illegal, and were therefore immediately sent to prison. The people, penetrated with respect and sorrow,

They flocked to see them pass ; and the guard that he conducted them showed they were affected with the same sentiments. Notwithstanding the influence of the court, they had a fair trial ; were acquitted by the judges, and the people openly manifested their joy ; an evident sign of a ferment ready to set the kingdom in a flame, which became more violent from new abuses of power. In 1687, a prince of Wales, an heir to the crown, was born ; and this event occasioned reports injurious to the queen's reputation.

James had two daughters, Mary and Anne ; the first married to William, prince of Orange, the second to prince George of Denmark. A revolution might raise William to the throne of England ; but that profound, ambitious politician seemed to be quite otherwise engaged, not in the least intermeddling in the affairs of his father-in-law ; on the contrary, testifying the strongest attachment to him, entering into the design of humbling Louis XIV., and forming the celebrated league of Augsbourg, which I shall have occasion to mention afterwards. However, he was not less inclined to take advantage of the discontents of the English, who had already applied for his assistance ; besides, the birth of the prince of Wales was an additional motive for breaking with a father-in-law whom he did not love. He disapproved of the conduct of James ; he had lost all hopes of the succession ; every thing invited him to take violent measures ; he broke with the king, and secured success by his prudence.

Political  
conduct of  
the  
prince of  
Orange.

The king had made himself detested by all parties ; a certain proof of bad government.

All parties  
against  
the king.

The Tories, and even the bishops, who from principle were devoted to the crown, were almost of the same opinion with the Whigs. The church of England and the Presbyterians forgot their religious disputes, to unite against a common oppression. William flattered all parties, and his emissaries procured him a number of adherents, while he was employed in making immense preparations for war; but what is most astonishing, the secret was inviolably preserved. The armament of the stadtholder seemed to threaten France, and it was natural to ascribe it to the league of Augsbourg.

James  
refuses the  
offers of  
Louis XIV.

Yet the count d'Avaux, ambassador of Louis XIV. at the Hague, penetrated the secret, and sent advice of it; when Louis prevented the king of England by an offer of a fleet, and to make a diversion in the Low Countries; but James would not give credit to the information, and haughtily refusing these necessary succours, lulled himself into security on the very brink of the precipice. An inconceivable blindness, especially at a time when the English fleet had mutinied, and the army was ready to revolt, because the attempts against the laws and religion of the kingdom were not discontinued.

1698.  
William's  
manifesto.

Certain accounts having at last arrived from Holland, that the prince of Orange was ready to invade England, the king, struck dumb, trembling, and dispirited, retracted his declarations, and attempted to repair his faults when it was too late. William, in a manifesto, gave a lively picture of the English grievances, and declared, that he intended to come with an army to save the nation from the pernicious counsels with which the king was beset, to see a free par

liament assembled, to support the liberty of the nation, and inquire into the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. This manifesto was quite conformable to the general wish, and was the signal of a speedy revolution.

William set out with a fleet of about five hundred sail, in which he had embarked an army of more than fourteen thousand men. He had scarcely landed, on the fifteenth of November, when numbers of the English nobility and officers hastened to join him. Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, the favourite and lieutenant-general of James, did not hesitate to betray his unhappy master. The prince of Denmark, his son-in-law, and even his beloved daughter, the princess Anne, cruelly abandoned him; upon which he lost all courage, distrusted his army, dreaded his parliament, and fled even without trying his fortune. He was taken, and refused an interview by the prince of Orange, who sent him prisoner to Rochester, a town near the seacoast; but as such a prisoner could not fail greatly to embarrass him, he facilitated his escape into France.

The more that this attempt against a sovereign and a father-in-law, was offensive to nature and the law of nations, the more did William, in other respects the friend of liberty, take care to avoid the reproach of being an usurper. The parliament was summoned, and met simply as a *convention*, because the name of *parliament* supposes their being convoked by the king. The commons declared, that 'James, having attempted to overturn the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the *original contract* between king and people, having violated the

Sudden  
revolution.  
The  
king flies.

1689.  
The throne  
declared  
vacant.

fundamental laws, by the advice of Jesuits and other pernicious counsellors, and having fled out of the kingdom, hath abdicated his government; the throne was therefore declared vacant.' After some keen disputes in the house of lords on the reality of the national contract, on the violation of that contract, and lastly, on the throne being vacant, the declaration of the commons was received without amendment. This act is one of the most remarkable events in history.

The crown  
given to  
William and  
Mary.

They came next to deliberate whether a king or a regent should be appointed; and, upon this occasion, the ambition of the prince of Orange was unmasked. He declared to some of the nobility, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of the kingdom, whether they settled a regency, or assigned the crown to the princess Mary, his wife, the eldest daughter of James; in a word, if he was only to enjoy a precarious dignity, attached to the life of another person. The parliament could not draw back; the two daughters of the king accommodated matters with the prince, and it was enacted, that the crown should be possessed by William and Mary jointly; that William should have the sole administration; that the princess Anne should succeed after their death, and her posterity after those of Mary.

Bill  
of rights.

To this was added a declaration, fixing the rights of the subjects, and restraining the royal prerogative, of which the following are the most essential articles. The king cannot suspend the laws, nor the execution of the laws, without the consent of parliament. He can neither erect an ecclesiastical, nor any other tribunal. He

cannot levy money which has not been granted by parliament, nor in any other manner, or for a longer time, than has been granted. He cannot raise nor maintain an army, without the consent of parliament. The subjects have a right to present petitions to the king, for which they can neither be imprisoned nor prosecuted. Protestant subjects may keep such arms for their defence as are allowed by law. Elections to be free, and the language or debates of parliament to be examined only in parliament. Excessive bail not to be exacted, nor exorbitant fines imposed, nor too severe punishments inflicted. The juries, on trials for high-treason, must be members of the communities; and to remedy abuses, it is necessary that parliaments be frequently assembled.

To the old oath of supremacy a new form was substituted, which declares, that *no prince, prelate, state, or foreign sovereign, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, in the kingdom.* This was an eternal divorce from Popery. New oath  
of  
supremacy.

The English constitution was fixed in this manner by the national assembly; and probably the power of the crown would have been still more limited, even as much as we shall see that it was in Sweden, if they had not been impressed with a dread of William's army, or their deliberations had not been influenced by his address. A king who has it in his power to assemble, to prorogue, or dissolve the parliament; to refuse his consent to bills, without which they cannot have the force of laws; the power of nominating the members of the council, the

The  
royal  
prerogative  
always  
extensive.

great offices, and all the chief employments of the state ; whose revenue exceeds three millions sterling, without reckoning the benefices of the church ; who, of course, has immense means of attaching to his person men capable of serving him ; the right of making war or peace, of administering justice, or the general government of the kingdom, without being accountable, ought naturally to give umbrage to a people who are excessively jealous of liberty.

What  
necessarily  
limits  
it.

But the royal authority has a very strong counterpoise in the necessity of having recourse to parliament for supplies ; in that spirit of liberty which is ever watchful over the proceedings of government, and always ready to censure them with freedom ; in the empire of the laws, which are infinitely dear and respectable in the eyes of a high spirited people, who make their happiness to depend upon them ; in the prevailing opinion, which is capable of setting the whole state in commotion, if the court has the imprudence to thwart it ; in the energy of that elevated character and depth of understanding which distinguishes these islanders ; and lastly, in the remembrance of those revolutions which have so frequently shaken the throne.

William III.  
always  
checked by his  
subjects.

William, who was more a king in Holland than in England, experienced, during the whole of his reign, how difficult it is to govern the English. At first his revenue was granted to him only for a short and limited time ; they determined the amount of his household expenses, and resolved that the remainder of the public revenue should be subject to parliamentary in-



spection. In one word, he had reason to repent of having been desirous of a crown, which to him was only productive of vexation.

We shall see Louis XIV. at war with all Europe, and employing the greatest efforts to restore James II., who appeared no longer any thing but an abject prince, destitute both of courage and prudence, and devoted totally to the Jesuits ; even France, the witness of his debasement, deeming him deserving of his misfortunes. While duke of York, he appeared capable of governing ; but when king, he seemed to have lost all the merit of the duke of York. So much can misfortune depress the minds of men, to whom power and opposition communicate vigour ! so much does piety, calculated to excite men to the discharge of their duty, require understanding in the superior ranks of life, to enable them to distinguish between real duties and the mere forms of devotion !

James II.  
contemp:  
tible  
in France.



## ERA OF LOUIS XIV.

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 BOOK III.
 

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FROM THE WAR OF MDCLXXXVIII, TO THE  
CONGRESS OF UTRECHT, IN  
MDCCXII.

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## CHAPTER I.

LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG AGAINST LOUIS XIV. HE  
MAINTAINS A SUCCESSFUL WAR AGAINST ALMOST  
ALL EUROPE.

OF all the enemies whom Louis XIV. had drawn upon himself, there was not one more to be dreaded, from his abilities and implacable hatred, than the famous prince of Orange, who was at that time despised, upon too slight grounds, by the French, because he had not been fortunate in war. By exaggerating the ambition of Louis, representing him as aiming at universal monarchy, insisting upon his vio-

William  
stirs  
up Europe  
against  
Louis.

lent attempts to make the consequences dreaded ; he, for a long time, added fuel to that fire which was soon to set all Europe in a flame. By the league of Augsburg in 1680, which was confirmed the next year at Venice, he united the confederates of the last war to maintain the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen. Pope Innocent XI., without having any communication with that heretical prince, seconded his views, and the misunderstanding between the courts of France and Rome daily increased.

Attempt to  
make an  
ally  
of France  
elector  
of Cologne.

Louis was desirous to procure the electorate of Cologne to cardinal Furstenberg, bishop of Strasburg, who was entirely devoted to his interests ; and, notwithstanding that several of the canons protested against it, he so far succeeded as to get him chosen coadjutor ; but the election was declared void by Innocent. A prince of Bavaria, who was only seventeen years of age, and already bishop of Ratisbon, being provided with a dispensation, for politics are not scrupulous in attending to the canons, was afterwards preferred to the cardinal, with the approbation of the whole empire. To this motive for going to war were added two others ; a claim was fruitlessly set up to the real or pretended rights of the duchess of Orleans, the princess Palatine, for the succession of her brother the Elector Palatine ; and the empire had refused to change the truce of Ratisbon into a perpetual peace. So much was not necessary to make the king take up arms ; who being provoked at the league of Augsburg, and anxious to prevent its designs, broke the truce, and attacked Germany.

The emperor Leopold found himself in a more advantageous situation than formerly. Buda had been taken from the Turks by assault in 1686; and, being defeated the following year at Mohacz by the duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria, they lost Slavonia. The states of Hungary had lately abrogated the old law, by which the sovereign, in case of a violation of the privileges of the people, might be deposed, making the crown hereditary in the male line of the Austrian family, and consented to receive imperial garrisons. This was owing to the emperor's having confirmed the Hungarian privileges, and incorporating into that kingdom the conquests gained from the Turks. Besides, his eldest son Joseph was crowned king of Hungary. But, however, it was necessary to continue the war on that side, which made a diversion favourable to Louis XIV. While the imperialists took Belgrade and subdued Servia, the Dauphin, with an army of an hundred thousand men, carried universal dismay into the empire.

Leopold  
carries on  
war  
against the  
Turks.

After a siege of nineteen days the dauphin made himself master of Philipsburg; Mentz, Mannheim, Spire, Worms, and Treves were already in the hands of the French; and, in 1689, the Palatinate was cruelly given up to the flames. More than forty cities, and an infinite number of villages, were burnt, and all that fine country laid waste. What a dreadful monument of what is called the rights of war, or rather the merciless severity of Louvois! for it was he that determined the king to issue these cruel orders. Could he think it impossible for the enemy to penetrate, on some occasion, into his own kingdom? and if they did, what re-

1688.  
Taking  
of  
Philipsburg.

prisals were not to be expected? Sound policy will always respect the cause of humanity.

At this time the fugitive James II., without having fought for the preservation of his crown, sought an asylum in France, where his life was more like that of a Jesuit than a monarch. The indecent expression of Le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, is a proof of the small degree of esteem in which he was held : *There is a simpleton has given three kingdoms for a mass!* Undoubtedly, if he had added the qualities of a prince and a hero to his religion, it would have rendered him worthy of admiration. Louis displayed his magnificence in favour of James, who appeared as contemptible as the other appeared great.

He  
passes  
into Ireland.  
Siege  
of London:  
derry.

1690.  
The French  
masters  
of the sea.

A powerful French squadron was sent to transport the dethroned monarch into Ireland, and he was speedily followed by fresh succours. He found the Irish inclined to serve him, and was received with transports of joy in Dublin ; but the more the Catholics testified their zeal, the less did he attempt to conciliate the minds of the Protestants. Londonderry, an inconsiderable town, where the Protestant religion prevailed, where their minister, Walker, gave his orders, and inspired the inhabitants with enthusiasm, was the first rock upon which he split. He raised the siege of that place, after having lost nine thousand men. The next year, 1690, Tourville, vice-admiral of France, gained a complete victory over the united fleets of England and Holland off Dieppe ; a victory which secured the empire of the sea to France for almost two years ; but this advantage was of no benefit to the unfortunate James, whose

whole conduct was nothing but a series of blunders.

William went over to Ireland, and James wanted to risk an engagement; the two armies, having each about forty thousand men, came in sight of one another on the opposite banks of the Boyne. While William was examining the ground, a cannon-ball grazed his shoulder, and the enemy believing he was killed, gave vent to their joy; but having encouraged his army, by riding along the lines, he gave the order of battle for the next day. The action was decisive, and he passed the river exposed to the greatest dangers. The marechal Schomberg, who fought on his side at the head of the French refugees, lost his life, without that misfortune having the consequences which might have been apprehended. The Irish, who are almost always easily defeated in their own country, fled at the first onset; only the French fought with courage, and retreated in good order. James did not even appear, though it was of so much consequence to him to set an example; and France very soon witnessed his return, still less deserving of the sacrifices she had made in his favour.

Battle of  
the  
Boyne.

Ireland was entirely subdued by William's generals in two campaigns. Though Louis sent three thousand men and an immense quantity of provisions to Limerick, that important place capitulated. A general amnesty and liberty of conscience granted to the Irish were the means employed to attach them to the new government; but, however, twelve thousand of them took the advantage of the permission which was granted for them to retire, and France be-

Ireland  
reduced by  
William.

came their country ; but they did not carry thither the wealth and industry which she had lost by the emigration of the Protestants.

Enemies  
of  
Louis XIV.

Louis already had England, Holland, Spain, the duke of Savoy, almost all Italy, in league with the emperor, and the greatest part of the empire against him ; but such were still the resources and vigour of his government during this war that his arms continued to have the superiority. We shall only give a hasty sketch of the most memorable events.

Sieges  
of  
Bonn and  
Mentz.

In 1689, Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria retook Bonn and Mentz. These towns, though badly fortified, were admirably defended ; the first by the baron d'Asfeld, who was mortally wounded in a general assault ; the second by the marquis, afterwards marechal d'Uxelles, who, after having made twenty-one sallies, was obliged to yield for want of powder. At his return he was hissed in the theatre at Paris. The French were so accustomed to victory, they judged from prejudice.

Campaigns  
of the  
Marechal  
de  
Luxemburg.

The same year the prince of Waldeck defeated the marechal d'Humieres at Valcour in the Low Countries ; but he was in his turn defeated at Fleurus, in 1690, by the marechal de Luxemburg, who had been chosen by the king, though hated by Louvois. The battle of Leuses, in 1691, where twenty-eight squadrons defeated seventy-five ; the bloody battle of Steenkirk, in 1692 ; and of Nerwinden, where William was defeated, in 1693, completed the glory of Luxemburg, the worthy pupil of the great Condé. In these last actions, some young princes of the blood charged the enemy with heroic valour, and the son of the famous Tu-



renne was killed in following their example. The king in person took Mons and Namur; which last, William, though at the head of a great army, could not relieve.

On the other hand, the marechal Catinat, a philosopher and warrior, who was always the same in every degree of fortune, gained a complete victory over the duke of Savoy at Staffarda, which was followed by the taking of Suza, Villafranca, Montealbano, Nice, Montmelian, and others, in 1691. Being obliged to remain upon the defensive, because some of his troops were recalled, yet he attacked and defeated the duke at Marsaille, as soon as he had sufficient force to engage him without being guilty of an act of imprudence, 1693. The French then retaliated upon Piedmont the ravages which that prince had committed in Dauphiny.

Campaign  
of  
Catinat.

A French army under the marechal de Lorges was likewise successful in Germany, where the war was carried on with less spirit; but the marechal de Noailles had much greater in Catalonia, where he took Roses in 1693; Palamos, Girona, and others, in 1694, after having gained a battle on the banks of the Ter. The king of Spain being destitute of money to pay his army, was obliged to retrench the third of the appointments of his officers, even the military; to sell the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru; and to borrow at the rate of fifteen per cent. Both his finances and credit were ruined, and Spain for a long time had exhausted the New World of its gold for the advantage of other nations. This monarchy resembled a great Colossus tumbling into dust.

War  
in Germany  
and  
Catalonia.

Louis  
offers peace.

But France by her victories gained only glory, and ruined herself by empty triumphs, of which Louis was certainly sensible, since, in 1694, he made an offer of peace and the restitution of his conquests. Whether it proceeded from distrust, ambition, or hatred, the enemy refused at that time what they accepted in 1697 at Ryswick. Louvois and Luxemburg were both dead ; losses difficult to be repaired, especially as the war was not terminated. The first, though too severe, and a friend to violent measures, yet excelled in a number of the duties of a minister : The second, notwithstanding the envy with which he was persecuted, gloriously supplied the loss of the great Condé and Turenne.

1696.  
William  
retakes  
Namur.

William III., who had been often defeated, and therefore was but too little esteemed in France, though he could most wonderfully recover a loss in the field, clearly showed that success in war does not always prove the abilities of a general. The taking of Namur by Louis XIV. in the presence of an army of four-score thousand men commanded by king William, was looked upon as a prodigy ; and this last was exposed to ridicule because he could not save the place ; yet he retook it notwithstanding the greatest obstructions. The marshal de Boufflers, equally eminent as a good citizen and excellent general, had thrown himself into the place with seven regiments, and the garrison was already numerous. The marshal de Villeroi was on the banks of the Meuse, with an army of fourscore thousand men ; but Villeroi did nothing ; and though the siege was long and warm, William at last triumphed.

The parliament of England had vexed the king; yet they lavished immense sums from hatred to France, and granted four millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling for the support of this campaign. The supplies during this reign were enormous, and the war could not be maintained but by exhausting the kingdom.

After the famous battle of La Hogue, fought in 1693, the hopes of James were almost entirely annihilated. Two powerful French squadrons were to have joined to make a descent upon England; but their junction was prevented by a contrary wind. Tourville, with only forty-four ships, was attacked by near an hundred of the enemy, yet he sustained an action of ten hours before he yielded. The French, being pursued two days, lost fourteen large ships and the empire of the sea. *Is Tourville safe?* said the king, on hearing of the engagement; *as for the ships we shall easily find more, but it is not easy to find such an officer.* It was one of the best qualities of Louis to honour merit, and animate the zeal of his servants.

Battle  
of  
La Hogue.  
1693.

Dieppe, Havre, Saint Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk, were bombarded by the English. What had the French got by inventing bomb-ketches? Their *infernal machine*, still more dreadful, if it had succeeded, happily miscarried. Though at a great distance, by its explosion all the windows of St Malo were broken, a number of roofs thrown down, and the earth shaken to the distance of three leagues. France revenged herself for these bombardments upon Brussels, which belonged to Spain; so that even in that polite age war was still accompanied with cruelties.

Bombard-  
ments.  
Infernal  
machine.

Expeditions  
into Asia,  
America,  
&c.

It even reached to the extremities of the earth ; for wherever the Europeans carried their admirable industry, their destructive animosities were likewise to be found. The Dutch took Pondicherry from France, the English ravaged Saint Domingo, and the French laid waste Jamaica. Pointis, who commanded a squadron, and joined the Buccaneers, surprised Carthagena, where the Spaniards sustained a loss of twenty millions of livres. Duguai Trouin and John Bart, two captains of privateers, deserving of the highest military honours, destroyed the commerce of those enemies who ruined that of France.

Creation  
of the  
electorate  
of  
Brunswick.

A remarkable division started up in the empire on the creation of a ninth electorate in the year 1692, in favour of the duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg-Hanover. The emperor had given him the investiture, but the princes protested, and even entered into a league at Ratisbon. If Leopold had not suspended the effects of the investiture in 1693, a great part of Germany would probably have turned their arms against him instead of fighting against France. This ninth electorate continued to be a subject of disturbance till the reign of the emperor Joseph, when, in the year 1708, the states gave their consent. We need not be surprised at the war going on but slowly on that side ; the Germans were very inactive, and Louis carried his greatest strength into another quarter.

## CHAPTER II.

PEACE OF RYSWICK NECESSARY TO LOUIS XIV.  
THOUGH A CONQUEROR. PEACE OF CARLOWITZ, THE  
TERMS OF WHICH WERE DICTATED TO THE TURKS.

THIS war, which was begun without necessity, and originated in hatred, Louis XIV. had drawn upon himself by the terror he excited, and which he might have avoided, had he been satisfied with becoming the arbiter of Europe, was less to be ascribed to his own disposition than to the despotic temper and violent counsels of his minister Louvois; but, though crowned with victory, occasioned infinite mischief to the kingdom, and oppressions to the people. It was only supported by taxes and expedients ruinous to the nation; and the obstinacy of the enemy made them decline a peace for which they ought earnestly to have wished. It became necessary to detach some of the members from the confederacy, and to divide those, who, while united, continued inflexible; and, at length, the pliant, ambitious policy of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, yielded to the views and interest of the court of France.

War ruined  
France,  
though  
victorious.

1696.  
Louis  
gains the  
duke  
of Savoy.

He was gained, by granting to him whatever he could desire; the restitution of his dominions; Pignerol, though rased to the ground; the honours of sovereignty; four millions of money, and the marriage of his daughter with the young duke of Burgundy, son of the dauphin. This treaty was concluded by Catinat; to which Innocent XII., Pignatelli, who was as favourable to France as his predecessor had been averse from it, not a little contributed, by determining the duke of Savoy. What the pope had chiefly at heart was the tranquillity of Italy, and he wished that it would remain neuter; but the allies having refused to consent, Victor Amadeus joined Louis XIV.

1697.  
Treaty  
of Ryswick.

The grand alliance was the more disconcerted by his defection, as Louis still had four armies on foot; and the duke of Vendome took Barcelona, after having defeated the Spaniards. The negotiations were carried on at Ryswick, near the Hague, under the mediation of Sweden: That of the pope, which had been formerly refused for the peace of Nimeguen, was again rejected, and the court of Rome was destined to lose all influence in the affairs of Europe. Four treaties, which were concluded towards the end of the year 1697, secured the general peace, the conditions of which seemed to be humiliating to Louis, though proposed by him after gaining battles and making conquests.

France  
makes  
concessions.

That prince restored to Spain all that she had lost by the war, Luxemburg, Mons, Aeth, Courtrai, Barcelona, and others, with all that the chambers of Metz and Brisac had reunited to the royal domain. This was the sole produce of

these violent reunions ! He acknowledged William as king of England, who was his personal enemy, and looked upon in France as a perfidious usurper, whose ambition had kindled so fatal a flame. With regard to Holland, he adhered to the terms agreed on at Munster and Nimeguen. To the empire he restored Kehl and Philipsburg, and to the emperor Friburg and Brisac. He consented to rase the fortifications which had been erected beyond the Rhine, and abandoned the reunions which had been made out of Alsace ; but insisted, that in those places which had been re-united to the domain of the crown, the Catholic religion should be permitted to remain upon the same footing in which it was at that time ; but the Protestants with difficulty consented.

Last of all, he restored Leopold duke of Lorraine, the son of Charles V., but not before his towns were dismantled. Though Leopold, if considered only as to the extent of his power, is but a little prince ; yet, when regarded with the eyes of wisdom and humanity, he is great. Solely employed in effecting the happiness of his subjects, he made them forget the miseries of war, and those which had been brought upon them by the absence of their sovereign. He procured them abundance ; he introduced arts, learning, with all the blessings of nature, and of an agreeable and peaceful society. During seven hundred years of glory and sovereignty, his illustrious family had not produced one prince so deserving of praise. The following admirable expression, *I would resign my crown to-morrow, if I could do no more good*, has been often quoted, and was the language of his senti-

Leopold,  
duke of  
Lorraine.

ments ; sentiments with which all who are invested with power ought to be inspired.

Louis  
makes peace  
from  
necessity.

The peace of Ryswick, compared with that of Nimeguen, where Louis dictated, excited the murmurs of a people elated with so many victories, who were provoked at seeing the fruits of their triumphs sacrificed to the conquered. Some people greatly extolled the king's moderation ; while others falsely imagined, that, by his policy, he hoped to pave the way for succeeding to the crown of Spain ; but it is now known, that, having waked from the dreams of pride, he yielded to the real necessities of his subjects and of the kingdom.

Enormous  
expenses  
of the war.  
State  
of  
the revenue.

Ever since he had adopted the fatal custom of keeping up armies much more numerous than formerly, the expenses of the war had been enormous. And what was gained by this custom but to ruin himself, while he forced the enemy to ruin themselves, by obliging them to increase the number of their troops in proportion to those of France ? The five first campaigns had cost more than two hundred millions extraordinary ; so that the finances sunk into the former confusion. From the fear of exciting a general discontent, by increasing the taxes, with which the people were already oppressed, recourse was had to loans, to the erecting of new offices, and those temporary expedients, which infallibly produce a lasting evil by increasing the public debt. The value of the silver merk in coin had been increased three livres in 1689 ; which operation did a considerable injury to commerce, and while the kingdom was impoverished, the royal revenue sensibly diminished. In 1695, the capitation, a new



tax, was established ; and though they thereby raised twenty-one millions, yet the revenue of this year did not exceed the former more than ten millions. It is then evident, that war, though accompanied with the greatest success, exposed France to the utmost misery. Such is the effect of habit, especially in princes, that they reject the lessons of experience ; and the situation of the kingdom did not prevent Louis from squandering millions on new buildings.

John Sobieski dying in 1696, the throne of Poland became vacant during the negociations of Ryswick. The abbé, since cardinal, de Polignac, famous for his Anti-Lucretius, was at that time ambassador in Poland, and succeeded so as to make the election fall upon the prince of Conti, whose valour had been signalized at the battles of Steenkirk and Nerwinden. In two hours after, another party proclaimed Frederic Augustus elector of Saxony, who had the advantage of being in the neighbourhood, and possessed of money. Louis XIV. certainly was not in a situation to carry the war into that country, and gave the prince of Conti such slender assistance that he was not able even to penetrate into Dantzic. The Poles united in favour of the German prince, who paid dear for their crown.

Prince  
of  
Conti  
chosen king  
of  
Poland.

The peace of Carlowitz, which was concluded with the Turks in 1699, is a very remarkable epoch, both for its humbling the enemies of the Christian name, and restoring general tranquillity to Europe. From the siege of Vienna, with the assistance of the Poles, Russians, and particularly the Venetians, the emperor Leopold had maintained a constant superiority

Superiority  
of  
the emperor  
over  
the Turks.

over the Turks. Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was afterwards so formidable to France, defeated them at the battle of Zanta in 1695, where they lost more than twenty thousand men. Their army was commanded by the sultan Mustapha II., who was deposed some time after the peace of Carlowitz, which brought upon him the hatred and contempt of his people.

Transylvania  
yielded  
to Austria.

By this treaty, the Porte yielded Transylvania to the emperor, which was a principality always acknowledged independent, though under the protection of the Turk. According to the abbé Mably, it therefore could neither be given nor acquired in that manner. 'But since that time, as he observes, the court of Vienna has acquired the most lawful title to Transylvania; this province loves the government under which it lives, and has given to its masters unequivocal proofs of its sentiments.' \* The boundaries of both powers are determined; and it was agreed that neither shall grant an asylum to the discontented subjects of the other; which excludes the Hungarians from a place of refuge in case of rebellion. It was likewise settled, that those people of Hungary or Transylvania, who had quitted their country during the late war, should be debarred from returning.

Cessions  
made  
to Poland;

With regard to Poland, the Turk restored Kamienieck, and gave up all pretensions to Podolia and the Ukraine; and the Neister, which separates Moldavia from Podolia, was made the boundary between their territories.

He yielded all the Morea, or Peloponnesus, and some islands to Venice. Venice had since lost the Morea by the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, where the court of Vienna gained the Bannat of Tameswaer, and a part of Walachia.

The Morea  
to  
Venice;

The czar Peter only concluded a truce of two years at Carlowitz; however, he got possession of Azoph upon the Palus-Meotis, an important place, which might procure him the command of the Black Sea. That prince and his rival Charles XII. began a war in 1700 that continued eighteen years, to which we must direct our attention; but the details I am to give of the transactions of these two extraordinary men, would, in this place, break the chain of our ideas, by making us lose sight of the affairs of the south of Europe; I shall therefore defer them to a more convenient opportunity.

Azoph  
to  
czar Peter.

## CHAPTER III.

PARTITION-TREATY FOR THE SUCCESSION OF SPAIN. LAST WILL AND DEATH OF CHARLES II. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY PHILIP V., AND THE WAR BREAKS OUT IN ITALY.

The  
Spanish  
succession.

THE succession to the king of Spain, Charles II., a prince equally weak in body and mind, on the point of dying without children, was a great subject of disquiet and political intrigue. According to the rights of consanguinity, none but the Imperial or French families could have any title. It was entirely inconsistent with the system of a balance of power to permit the excessive growth of a potentate who might unite so many states in the same person, already in possession of other crowns: but how was it possible to prevent the storms and wars which were foreseen?

Melancholy  
situation  
of  
Charles II.

The situation of the unhappy Charles, according to the idea of Voltaire, was like that of a rich old man dying without children. His wife, his relations, the priests and notaries, whose business it is to receive the last will of dying persons, beset him on all sides to wrest from him a word in their favour. Some of the heirs agree to share the spoil, while

others prepare to dispute them.' An anecdote, which has not been taken notice of by this historian, but is to be found in the Memoirs of the Marquis de Saint-Philip, serves better to show the melancholy situation of that dying king. To remove some people from about his person who had gained his confidence, he was persuaded that he had been bewitched, and from thence his disorders and misfortunes proceeded, and that he would find his cure in the exorcisms of the church. His confessor, father Dias, a Dominican, was the life of this intrigue, and was seconded by cardinal Portocarrero and the grand inquisitor. Having got the ascendant over Charles, they caused him to be exorcised, and the dreadful ceremony weakened his head still more. The confessor was disgraced, but Portocarrero became minister. In this manner were the affairs of Spain conducted.

In the mean time, king William of England, who was always attentive to the balance of power in Europe, had conceived or adopted a strange project for maintaining that equilibrium of which he was so jealous ; and a partition of the Spanish monarchy, even without the knowledge of its king, was the means to be employed. Louis XIV. concluded a treaty with England and Holland in 1698, by which Spain, and all her possessions in America, were to be secured to the electoral prince of Bavaria, who was then an infant ; the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the province of Guipuscoa, Final, and some other cities, to the dauphin ; and the duchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. Louis renounced

First  
partition-  
treaty.

the succession, but acquired considerable dominions.

Charles  
makes  
his will.

A treaty so opposite to the rights of the king, and the natural order of things, provoked the court of Madrid, and not without reason. It was chiefly afraid of having the monarchy dismembered; and the king, not daring to appoint a prince of his own family to be his heir, made a will in favour of his grandnephew, the young prince of Bavaria, who died almost immediately after at Brussels; upon which the disquiets and intrigues were renewed, and a new treaty of partition was the consequence.

1700.  
Second  
partition-  
treaty.

By this treaty, which was concluded between the same powers as the former, Spain and the West Indies, which were formerly assigned to the Bavarian prince, were to fall to the lot of the archduke Charles, the Milanese to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine to be added to the share of the dauphin; so that the succession of a living monarch was disposed of for the second time. Why was not such an important business, upon which the solidity of the peace depended, settled at Ryswick? Probably, even at that time, they perceived some almost unsurmountable difficulties; or, from their impatience to get the peace concluded, neglected the future for the sake of the present; a fault very common, even among politicians.

The court  
of  
Vienna  
disgusts the  
Spaniards.

If the emperor would have consented to this treaty, his son would have been king of Spain; but he refused it, in hopes of the whole succession, and lost all by that refusal. The truth was, Charles being excessively irritated at this new partition, made choice of the archduke; but the court of Vienna, which could not be

too solicitous to please him, gave him numberless causes of disgust. He demanded ten thousand men, but they were refused by the emperor. The archduke spoke of the Spaniards in reproachful terms, and these expressions were carried thither; but, on the contrary, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador at Madrid, made himself beloved, dispelled the prejudices they entertained against the French, and conducted matters so skilfully, that the idea of having a king of that nation no longer terrified its rival.

In the mean time, the weak Charles accommodated matters with Leopold, who had recalled his ambassador; upon which Louis recalled the Marquis d'Harcourt, sent some troops towards the frontiers of Spain, and every thing appeared as if they were upon the eve of a war. Cardinal Portocarrero, with the council of state, was of opinion that the family of France should be preferred to that of Austria. Both lawyers and divines, consulted upon this important affair, concurred in thinking that nothing was more just. Even Pope Innocent XII. was consulted; and he answered, that the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom, dictated to him to take that measure. The dying monarch then made his will, bequeathing the whole monarchy to the duke d'Anjou, the dauphin's second son; and, failing the younger branches of the family of France, to the archduke Charles, youngest son of the emperor; but upon condition, that the empire and Spain must never be united under the same sovereign. And, lastly, failing these princes, to the duke of Savoy. Charles

The  
Spanish  
council fa-  
vour  
France.

died some months after, at the age thirty nine.

The claims of the family of France. It is certain that France had the right of con sanguinity. Louis XIV., who was related in the same degree with Leopold, was the son of the elder, and the Dauphin was grandson of Philip IV., from whom the children of Leopold were not descended. It is likewise certain, that the renunciation of Maria Theresa, the wife of Louis XIV., was principally intended to prevent the two crowns from being united under one sovereign, and lost its effect when the union was obviated by the will of Charles. As also, that the voice of the people of Spain should have had some weight, though it has been so little regarded. And, last of all, it is absolutely false, that Harcourt had dictated the will, since he had been six months gone from Spain, and all appearances were so opposite at the time of his departure.

Even which appeared impossible That a prince of the house of Austria, a family which had waged almost continual war with France for two hundred years should cause the Spanish monarchy to descend to the Bourbons : that so great an event should be the effect of trifling causes, peevishness, domestic broils, and court intrigues ; that the last will of Charles II., almost a mere cipher during his life, should produce this effect, notwithstanding numberless obstructions, is an extraordinary phenomenon, which shows the uncertainty of all political systems.

Now Louis XIV. about how early It has been a matter of dispute, whether Louis XIV. should have adhered to the last partition treaty, or accepted the will of the King of Spain. By the first, the crown of the



two Sicilies, Lorraine, and others, were added to his dominions, and he might reckon upon the assistance of England and Holland against the emperor. By the second, he exposed himself to a general war for the establishment of his grandson. He assembled an extraordinary council, where the question was debated. His disposition prompted him to splendid enterprises, and he accepted the last will of Charles.

The Abbé Mably maintains, that he chose the worst, though the Spaniards had called in the duke of Anjou, though they would not have admitted of a partition, and though the regency had given orders, if France did not accept the whole, to make an offer of the succession to the archduke. The marquis de Torci, an able negociator and secretary of state, in his Memoirs, maintains a contrary opinion. There are strong probabilities on both sides, which leave the judgment in suspense; and whether he accepted the will, or adhered to the treaty, war was inevitable. It must be allowed, that England and Holland would never have proved faithful allies of France; on the contrary, is it not very probable that they soon would have been enemies? Would they not have taken the first opportunity of breaking the partition treaty, which made them murmur against William? because France, in fact, thereby gained too great an increase of power; too great, according to the common idea of politics; for, in my opinion, the acquisition of a kingdom in Italy must certainly have weakened the French monarchy. Last of all, whatever way he determined, the most violent opposition was to be expected; and if the king exposed himself

Inevitable  
difficulties  
on  
both sides.

to the greatest dangers, he, at least, embraced a just cause.

**Philip V.** Such was the astonishment of Europe at sight of a prince of the family of Bourbon inheriting the dominions of Spain, that, except the emperor, all the powers remained for some time in perfect tranquillity. The duke of Anjou, by the name of Philip V., set out to take possession of the crown; and his grandfather at parting from him said, *There are no more Pyrenees*. He was acknowledged by the pope, the duke of Savoy, Venice, the northern potentates, even Portugal, England, and Holland. The elector of Bavaria, governor of the Low Countries, and his brother the elector of Cologne, were to be depended on; and the duke of Savoy, to whom Philip V. became son-in-law, as was already the duke of Burgundy, might be looked upon as a friend. The duke of Mantua received a French garrison, and Louis tasted the most flattering satisfaction; but always presuming upon his power, he did not as yet sufficiently know the dreadful blows prepared against him by fortune.

**Leopold II.** The emperor Leopold alleged, in opposition to the will of Charles II., some agreements entered into between Charles V. and his brother, the emperor Ferdinand I., to secure a reciprocal succession to the two branches of the Austrian family; and likewise that the will of Philip IV. substituted the children of Leopold to Charles; as if the agreements of a family, or the arbitrary will of a prince, could annihilate the laws of a kingdom. By the laws of Spain, the females were entitled to succeed before collateral males; and besides, Charles II. had undoubtedly the

same right to bequeath as Philip IV., and his will was agreeable to the laws of the kingdom. Did not the approbation of the people of Spain confirm it inviolably ?

As the dominions of Spain in Italy might be considered in a different light, England and Holland entered into an alliance with the emperor, to separate them from the principal inheritance. The views of the allies extended in proportion to the success of their arms.

League with  
regard  
to Italy.

The war was begun in Italy before these maritime powers declared themselves, and prince Eugene commanded the imperial army, consisting of thirty thousand men. Though Venice was neuter, he penetrated through the district of Trent. Catinat, restrained by orders from court, and badly obeyed by some general officers, did not obstruct him on his passage, but retreated before the enemy till he got on the other side of the Oglio, and the Milanese was exposed to danger. Marechal de Villeroy was sent to replace Catinat. This was a courtier, instead of a general. Villeroy, by his insolence, disgusted the duke of Savoy, perhaps already inclined to betray France, and imprudently attacked prince Eugene at Chiari ; where he was defeated, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke, who exposed himself to every danger, as did Catinat likewise, who sought his death in an action of which he foresaw the consequences. They were so fatal, that this first campaign prognosticated an unfortunate issue of the war.

1701.  
Prince  
Eugene in  
Italy.

This was the beginning of those evils which prince Eugene was to bring upon France, his native country. He was son of the count de

Account of  
prince  
Eugene.

Soissons, of the house of Savoy, governor of Champagne, and of madame Mancini, one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces. Being slighted at court in his youth, he went to serve the emperor against the Turks, and bid an eternal adieu to France. The king seemed at that time to treat him with disdain, and the courtiers spoke of him with the utmost contempt. How ill-founded and dangerous are hasty judgments, especially in courts! Eugene has shown himself one of the greatest men in the world; he humbled Louis, in recompense for his insults, and made France tremble, as we shall have too frequent occasion to mention.

<sup>Necessary</sup>  
<sup>to</sup>  
<sup>pay respect</sup>  
<sup>to</sup>  
<sup>merit.</sup> With more penetration and reflection, it would have been possible to discover in him that luminous understanding and vigour of soul which raise a man above the level of his species. It would have been foreseen, that, by alienating him, he might be converted into a dangerous enemy; whereas, by proper attention, he would make a faithful friend. In a word, it would have been judged, that the more superior merit was becoming rare, the more essential it was to secure those in whom it was to be found, though only in embryo. Even modest merit has a certain pride, because it feels its own strength; and when an opportunity offers, what advantage may it not take of those from whom it has received an affront!

## CHAPTER IV.

LOUIS XIV. GIVES THE TITLE OF KING TO THE SON OF JAMES II. KING WILLIAM ARMS ENGLAND AND HOLLAND. DEATH OF WILLIAM III. GENERAL WAR. REVOLT OF THE CEVENNES.

THE war was yet but a single spark, when Louis afforded a pretence to the allies of the emperor to kindle a general conflagration. James II. dying at St Germain, he gave the title of king to his son, after having agreed in council not to take this dangerous step. The widow of James, and madame de Maintenon, whom Louis had married privately in 1686, by flattering his natural magnanimity, obtained from him what prudence seemed to condemn. It was a bad sign to see two women, the one overwhelmed in sorrow, the other a devotee, inspiring the monarch with devotion, and suddenly overturning the unanimous deliberation of a council of state.

1701.  
Louis gives  
the  
title of King  
of  
England  
to  
the son of  
James  
II.

The English might have found a pretence for taking up arms independent of that provocation, but their animosity would have been less keen and less obstinate; they probably

Provokes  
the  
English.

would not have employed such efforts, or sacrificed their real interest to inveterate hatred. They contradicted and disturbed William; but from that moment they testified the greatest zeal to serve him; and in vain did the king of France protest that he would faithfully adhere to the treaty of Ryswick. They thought themselves insulted; the nation loudly exclaimed, and William knew admirably how to profit by circumstances. The Commons undertook to maintain forty thousand men, and insisted that the war should not be concluded until the nation had received a signal reparation for the insult. A bill of attainder was passed against the pretender James; a proscription, subjecting him to capital punishment.

1702.  
Death of  
King  
William.

William, though infirm, gave life to the whole; and having made immense preparations, intended to command in person, when a fall from his horse brought on a fever which occasioned his death at the age of fifty-two. Churchill, then earl, and afterwards duke of Marlborough, whom he had sent into Holland in the double capacity of general and negotiator, a man of superior genius in both, did honour to his choice by sharing with Eugene in the glory of humbling France.

The  
embassy  
in  
Holland.

Before we pursue the military operations, it will be proper to consider some circumstances of the reign of William. It was not without reason he was called the king of the Hollanders and the stadtholder of the English: so much did the love and confidence of the first make him master of the republic, while the antipathy and distrust of the second restrained his authority in England. Holland raised seven

millions of florins for his expedition to England; and the English commonly opposed his desires, when they were not supported by national hatred against France. The following remarkable facts are of importance in the English government.

He could not be pleased, as I formerly observed, with exposing to the examination of the Commons the uses to which he dedicated a considerable part of the money which they granted to him, though a necessary precaution in such a form of government. They prevented him from establishing a toleration, which must have been an advantage to the nation; they even refused the naturalization of foreign Protestants, because they were non-conformists; it, therefore, did not take place till the following reign. To obtain supplies in 1694, he gave his consent to a bill which limited the duration of parliament to three years. Corruption was become so dreadful, that this limitation was judged necessary for the preservation of liberty. The court purchased votes; and what could it not do if the parliament sold themselves, and could prolong their existence during their own pleasure?

Restrained  
by  
the English.

Triennial  
parliament.

In 1696 a conspiracy against the king was discovered; upon which the greatest zeal was shown for the safety of his person. The two houses entered into an association to defend him, and support his government; but after the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, they left him only ten thousand men of the army which he was desirous to have kept up. In 1699, that number was even reduced to seven thousand, and he was obliged to dismiss his Dutch guards, which

Vexations  
which  
William  
suffered in  
England.

was a still severer blow to him. Invectives against the famous partition treaties, and the accusations which were brought against his ministers, poisoned the peace of his last days. The generous imprudence of Louis XIV., with regard to the pretender, alone put an end to these dangerous storms. In a word, with less phlegm and slender abilities, with less regard for liberty and the laws of the nation, William, perhaps, could not have maintained himself upon the throne.

**Queen Anne.** He left no children. Queen Mary had been some time dead; and her sister Anne, the wife of prince George of Denmark, was joyfully acknowledged, according to the order of succession established by parliament. Queen Anne, at her accession, was thirty-seven years of age, virtuous, prudent, a friend to the laws and to her country, and showed herself deserving the love and veneration of her people. In France, they vainly flattered themselves with the hope that the death of the formidable William would change the political system; but there was not any alteration. Marlborough confirmed the Dutch in the league which was formed against Louis. War was declared against that monarch upon various pretences, and the success very soon surpassed the hopes of the allies.

**Madame  
de  
Maintenon;  
Chamillard.**

The greater the confidence which Louis placed in his strength and knowledge, he was the more exposed to a reverse of fortune. His disordered finances were put into the hands of Chamillard, an old counsellor of the parliament, an honest man, but destitute of abilities, yet appointed minister of the war department. He was the creature of madame de Maintenon.



This woman, though possessed of abilities and good intentions, was led too much by prejudice ; and the king, now in the decline of life, shut up with her, no longer inspired that ardour and activity which had formerly produced such wonders. He wished that every thing should be regulated in the cabinet, and the generals to obey his orders, rather than to consult their own genius and the circumstances. Military discipline, of which Louvois was the soul, had languished from the time of his death, and was daily more and more enervated. Young men shone at the head of regiments, which should have been commanded by men of abilities ; and, in a word, neither the government, nor ministry, nor army, nor the state of the nation, answered to the successful years of this reign. When the principal springs of a kingdom are weakened, every thing wears out and sinks into decay.

On the contrary, the army of the enemy was commanded by two great generals, Marlborough and Eugene, who were not less able politicians ; at liberty to guide the operations of the campaign ; leading the counsels of their sovereigns ; having the treasures of England and Holland at their disposal ; and, what is still more remarkable, acting together in perfect concert. A Turenne and a Condé, who would not have been subjected to the narrow views of a Chamillard, were wanted to oppose them.

Prince Eugene was in Italy, and had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Cremona, where Villeroy was without any apprehension ; and in the month of February, under cover of the night, caused part of his army to enter the town

Eugene  
and Marlbo-  
rough.

1702.  
Villeroy  
surprised in  
Cremona.

through an aqueduct. He very soon got admittance himself; when Villeroi was waked by the noise of the musketry, and, coming out of his house, was taken prisoner. If a French regiment had not accidentally been under arms preparing for a review, so well had prince Eugene taken his measures, Cremona must have inevitably fallen; but that regiment opposed him till the garrison had time to get under arms, and the Imperialists were at last obliged to retire.

Succeeded  
by  
Vendôme.

The duke de Vendôme, grandson of Henry IV., was sent to succeed Villeroi. He was a man of genius and courage, of great abilities in the day of action, though, in other respects, very deficient in prudence, and particularly negligent of discipline, but adored by his soldiers, who thought themselves invincible under his command; so that Vendôme frequently fought with more honour than advantage. After the bloody battle of Luzara, both parties sung *Te Deum*. It is sufficient to remark, with M. de Voltaire, that Vendôme was always conqueror, except when he had to contend against prince Eugene.

The duke  
of  
Burgundy  
in  
Flanders.

The young duke of Burgundy, guided by marechal de Boufflers, did not succeed in Flanders. Marlborough, who had learnt the art of war under Turenne, and possessed the coolness and abilities of that hero, continued to advance without hazarding a battle. He took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and the reputation of the French arms was already on the decline.

Alias  
of  
Leopold  
in Germany.

At first, however, she kept her ground in Germany. Leopold had engaged the circles of Austria, Suabia, Franconia, the Upper and

Lower Rhine in the alliance, and had chiefly gained Frederic elector of Brandenburg, in whose favour he had erected the duchy of Prussia into a kingdom. The Imperial army was commanded by the prince of Baden, who had made himself famous by his exploits against the Turks; and having taken Landau, gave room to be apprehensive for Alsace, where Catinat then was, who did not think he could venture to attack him. The marquis de Villars, a lieutenant-general, more bold, and an excellent officer, but a bad courtier, was resolved, by the performance of great actions, to extort a reward, and obtained permission to engage the Imperialists, whom he defeated and pursued at Fridlingen, and was honoured with the staff of a marechal.

First king  
of  
Prussia.

Having joined the elector of Bavaria the next year, he, in some degree, obliged the elector to attack an army of twenty thousand men, who were on their march to reinforce the prince of Baden at Hochstet, near Donawert. The Imperialists were defeated; the elector took possession of Augsburg, and Vienna was in danger. The marechal de Tallard likewise gained a victory at Spire over the prince of Hesse, who afterwards ascended the throne of Sweden. He wrote to Louis XIV., *Your army has taken more colours and standards than it has lost private soldiers.* He took Landau from the enemy; but the successes of France were drawing to a period.

1703.  
Battles  
of Hochstet  
and  
Spire.

The duke of Savoy, dissatisfied, and guided by self-interest, suddenly changed sides, as he had done the former war. He gave up the cause of his two sons-in-law, and sold himself to the

Defection  
of  
the duke of  
Savoy.

emperor, who promised him Montferrat, Alexandria, Valencia, and some other places. While he was making this bargain, France was informed of his infidelity; and the duke of Vendôme had time to disarm five thousand of his men, who were still joined to the French army. Sufficient attention had not been paid to the duke; besides, he would have done any thing for his own aggrandizement.

*Order being  
of Portugal.* Peter II., king of Portugal, brother of Alphonso VI., whom he had long dethroned in the same manner, betrayed the king of Spain to obtain a dismemberment of that kingdom, which had been promised to him before he entered his dominions. The emperor and his eldest son, Joseph, king of the Romans, yielded their claims to the Spanish monarchy in favour of the archduke Charles. Charles went to England and Holland, where the armaments were preparing.

*Villars  
recalled.* Another source of misfortunes was the recalling of the marechal de Villars. His carriage was so imperious; his blunt temper, which made him an enemy to fawning, was so disgusting to the elector of Bavaria, that that prince imprudently required another general, though he could not hope for one so good. Villars, who was calculated for important expeditions, was sent to fight against the fanatics of the Cévennes, a set of poor mountaineers, who had occasioned some disturbance.

*Rebellion  
in the  
Cevennes.* One consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the reviving of fanaticism with its former rage; and the zeal of these wretched people was rekindled by the return of some of their fugitive clergy, which produ-

ced a rebellion. Some prophets and prophetesses, for so they were called, started up among them, whose extravagances set all in a flame. To free themselves from tyranny, or to gain the palm of martyrdom, was what the rebels, known by the name of *Camisards*, proposed. The war-cry was, *No taxes, and liberty of conscience*. The more they suffered, the greater was their inveteracy. The assistance they expected from the allies, especially from Savoy, kept up their insolence. The frightful mountains, from whence they rushed like wild beasts, afforded them an asylum where they could scarcely be forced, while the troops were engaged by foreign enemies. They had been fruitlessly pursued by the marechal de Montrevel ; but the marechal de Villars thought it was better to treat with one of their chiefs, a young baker, to whom a brevet of colonel was given, and who afterwards entered into the service of England. However, the rebels did not submit ; but when Villars resumed the command of the army, they were reduced and almost exterminated by the marechal de Berwick. How often should Louis XIV. have reflected, that by inspiring such hatred in a part of his subjects whom he persecuted, he had done great injury to himself without serving the cause of religion !

## CHAPTER V.

MISFORTUNES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN FROM 1704  
TO 1710. ALMOST ALL HOPE AT AN END.

THE different theatres of the war, even Italy, where Vendôme continued successful, very soon changed their appearance, and the most splendid prosperity was succeeded by the greatest misfortunes. Of all the lessons which history furnishes to ambitious princes, there is not one so proper as this to dispel the intoxication of success.

Despair  
of  
the emperor  
Leopold.  
Marlborough  
and  
Daguerre  
in  
Germany.

It was imagined that the emperor was on the eve of being dethroned. Passaw had already fallen into the hands of the elector of Bavaria; the victorious French and Bavarians might have easily laid siege to Vienna; and Leopold was at the same time at war with the Hungarians, who complained of new oppressions, and, having rebelled, put themselves under the command of prince Ragotzi. But Villars was unsuccessful in Germany; Marlborough had already taken possession of Ban, Hui, and Limbourg, and was advancing speedily to the assistance of the

emperor. Villeroi being set at liberty, commanded the army in Flanders, and followed Marlborough, but very soon lost sight of him. The English general forced the intrenchments near Donawert, took that city, and passed the Danube, where he was joined by prince Eugene, their two armies forming a body of fifty-two thousand men against sixty thousand.

On the same plain where Villars defeated the Imperialists in 1703, was fought the famous battle of Höchstet, or Blenheim, which was followed by most fatal disasters. The marechals Tallard and Marsin, with the elector of Bavaria, commanded. Twelve capital faults, of which they were accused, may be seen in the Memoirs of that rigid censor of generals, M. de Feuquieres. Undoubtedly they committed some very great ones, since Villars, who was then at the extremity of the Cevennes, on hearing their dispositions, foretold the event. The superiority of the generals of the enemy was a sufficiently bad omen.

1704.  
Battle of  
Hochstet, or  
Blenheim.

Marlborough penetrated the wing of the army commanded by Tallard, who, being near-sighted, threw himself into the middle of one of the enemy's squadrons, where he was taken prisoner. Eugene, after being three times repulsed, routed all who opposed him; when the elector and Marsin retreated, without thinking of twelve thousand men of the best troops of France, who were shut up in the village of Blenheim; and this small army, from its situation, was obliged to surrender without coming to an engagement. The Danube and the field of battle were covered with dead; and after the action, the French army could scarcely collect

Dreadful  
defeat.

twenty thousand men. A hundred leagues of country were suddenly lost. Bavaria fell a prey to the Austrians, while the elector saved himself by flying to Brussels. Alsace was invaded, Landau and Trarbach taken by the Imperialists, and Marlborough made himself master of Treves.

Death  
of  
Leopold.  
Joseph  
I.

Amidst these victories, in 1705 died the emperor Leopold, a prince of a weak character, always guided, yet always desirous to appear absolute. His ministers, by representing Louis XIV. every where as an odious and formidable enemy, had almost rendered him master of the whole power of the empire; and from thence came the association of the Circles, and those armies of more than sixty thousand men, who were seen on the banks of the Rhine. Joseph I., the eldest son and successor of Leopold, being of an enterprising genius, and capable of acting for himself, took care to profit by this advantage. He immediately proscribed the two Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been stripped of their dominions, and gave a principality of the empire to Marlborough, upon whom queen Anne and the English parliament lavished more flattering recompenses.

Critical  
situation of  
Philip  
V.

Philip V. was already tottering on the throne of Spain; and though the bulk of the nation was for him, yet there was a great number of factious traitors in the different provinces, and his court was distracted by intrigues. Cardinal Portocarrero and Arias, the chief members of the secret council, were disgraced. The princess of Ursini, of the family of Tremoille, with some Frenchmen, engrossed his favour; and she changed the ministry as she pleased. Louis



XIV. having soon after recalled her, she was permitted to return, at the earnest entreaties of Philip, who could not bear her absence. This capricious woman continued a long time to have too great an influence over the affairs of state, and the Spaniards had great room to complain of her ; but the king was of a mild and virtuous disposition.

England and Holland being resolved to dethrone him, made incredible efforts in favour of the archduke, who, in raillery, was called *Charles, by the grace of heretics, Catholic king*. So great was the detestation of heresy in Portugal and Spain, that such protectors necessarily brought an odium on the party whose cause they espoused ; however, they almost succeeded ; and the English, in a particular manner, signalized themselves in the attempt.

Attempts  
in  
favour of the  
archduke  
Charles.

After having conveyed the archduke Charles into Portugal, in the year 1704 they took Gibraltar ; of which they have ever since kept possession. Next year they reduced the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia. Two fruitless attempts of France, the one against Gibraltar, and the other against Barcelona, almost totally ruined that formidable marine which had been established by Louis XIV. There were still some hopes, but they all soon vanished.

Conquests  
by the  
English in  
Spain.

Villeroi, who was always honoured with the confidence of Louis, which he merited on every account rather than that of general, flattered himself that, with an army of fourscore thousand men in Flanders, he would wipe away the stains of his reputation. Contrary to the opinion of his generals, he resolved to risk an engagement ; and his dispositions were made a-

1708.  
Villeroi  
defeated by  
Mairi  
borough  
at  
Ramillies.

gainst all the rules of military science. The battle of Ramillies, which was fought near the Mehaigne, proved a most disgraceful overthrow for the French, who were defeated in half an hour by Marlborough, when they lost twenty thousand men, and almost all Spanish Flanders. Louis having spared to reproach Villeroi, is undoubtedly worthy of admiration. *Marechal* said the king on seeing him, *fortune does not smile upon men of our age*. But the people did not less lament the disasters occasioned by favour being misplaced; and as faults multiplied, misfortunes increased.

Vendôme  
victorious in  
Italy.

Vendôme should have been left in Italy, since he carried on a difficult war with great glory. He repulsed prince Eugene at the battle of Cassano, near the Adda, in 1705, and had newly gained a complete victory over another general at Cassinato. Last of all, he obliged prince Eugene to retire into the country of Trent to wait a reinforcement, and was preparing to give the last blow to the duke of Savoy, by taking the capital of Piedmont. During these transactions, Vendôme was destined to replace Villeroi in the Low Countries. The duke de la Feuillade, son-in-law of the minister Chamillard, who was anxious to raise him to the highest honours, was charged with the siege of Turin; and this new choice of court favour proved a fresh source of misfortunes.

Preparations  
for  
the siege of  
Turin.

The author of *The Age of Louis XIV.* gives a curious detail of the preparations for this siege. 'One hundred battalions and forty-six squadrons, a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, a hundred and ten thousand balls, twenty-one thousand bombs, and about twenty-eight

thousand grenades. It is certain that the expense of these preparations for destruction would have been sufficient to settle one of the most numerous colonies, and to have put it into a flourishing condition. Every siege of a great town requires these immense expenses, and when a ruined village ought to be repaired at home, it is neglected.' I should be glad frequently to copy such reflections, though they should only produce a sentiment of compassion on the fate of mankind.

To judge of the conduct of the duke de la Feuillade, it is enough to be informed, that, Faults of La Feuillade at that siege. when the marechal de Vauban offered to direct the operations of the siege in quality of engineer, the duke rejected his offer with disdain. By his manner of attacking Turin, he made it believed that he did not intend the place should be taken; at least, such an incredible report was greatly spread, and after some ill-concerted attacks, he had made no progress in the siege. The duke of Savoy sallied out of the town, and escaped; prince Eugene advanced to his assistance, and had time to force every obstruction.

Even in presence of Vendôme, who was already appointed to the command in Flanders, and, because he was on the eve of setting out, was perhaps more negligent than usual, Eugene passed the Adige, the White Canal, and likewise the Po. The duke of Orleans, to whom Vendôme gave up the command of the army, not being able to prevent the junction of the Imperialists with the duke of Savoy near Asti, set out to join La Feuillade before Turin. If the duke of Orleans had commanded in chief, Prince Eugene joins the duke of Savoy.

he would have marched to meet the enemy rather than wait for them in the lines ; but an order from court, with which Marsin was intrusted, contrary to his own opinion, overruled the intention of the prince ; and, to obey their instructions from court, they were exposed to the greatest misfortunes.

Defeat  
at Turin.

In two hours the lines were forced, the French dispersed, their baggage, ammunition, and military chest, all fell into the hands of the enemy. Marsin died of his wounds ; the duke of Orleans, who was likewise wounded, retreated towards Pignerol. Though no more than two thousand men fell in the battle, all the French possessed in Italy was lost ; Piedmont, the Milanese, Modena, Mantua, and even the kingdom of Naples. By retiring under the walls of Casal, they might have had some resource. Two days after the defeat at Turin, the count de Medavi gained a complete victory over the prince of Hesse at Castiglione, but it was attended with no consequences. To save these victorious troops, it was found necessary to capitulate, and the whole country was abandoned to the emperor. All these losses were the fruit of a first error.

The siege  
of  
Barcelona  
raised.

The affairs of Spain seemed equally desperate. The siege of Barcelona, where Philip V. assisted in person, was not more fortunate than that of Turin. They imagined they were on the point of taking the place, when the count de Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV., and admiral in chief, who blocked up the port, was obliged to retreat before an English squadron. At the same time an eclipse of the sun happened, with which the Spaniards were as much ter-

rified as in the days of ignorance. The marechal de Tessé speedily raised the siege, and left immense quantities of provisions which fell into the hands of the English, and the whole provinces of the kingdom were filled with dismay. They penetrated even to Madrid, and caused the archduke to be proclaimed. It was believed in France, that Philip must have gone to establish his power in America, which was a project of the famous Vauban ; but what could he have done without a naval power ?

He still found a resource in the virtue of the Castillians, who continued faithful to their king, and were provoked at an attempt to impose another upon them. Being delighted with the courage and merit of the young queen, they displayed all the zeal of an intrepid people animated with despair. Bishops, priests, monks, peasants, women, and even children, joined in the patriotic enthusiasm, and signalized themselves by bold actions, so that the capital was very soon recovered ; where Philip was received with transports of joy, and every one was anxious to contribute to his assistance.

The marechal de Berwick, natural son of James II., defeated the enemy at Almanza, upon the frontiers of Valencia, in 1707. Their general was the count de Ruvigni, a native of France, who had been made a peer by the title of Lord Galway. Having observed the efforts of the Castillians, he wrote to London, that all the powers of Europe could not dethrone a prince so beloved by his subjects. The duke of Orleans came to command in Spain, and took advantage of the battle of Almanza to reduce Valencia and Arragon ; and took Lerida

Fidelity  
and zeal of  
the  
Castillians.

1707.  
Berwick  
defeats the  
enemy  
at  
Almanza.

in Germany, which had formerly resisted the  
 French arms.

These events a little revived the hopes of  
 France. But the marquis de Villars had like-  
 wise been successful in Germany, where he laid  
 several new fortresses under contribution. It  
 was a signal of victory, that after such dreadful  
 assaults, the enemy had not set foot in France;  
 but it was the title of Saver and prince Eu-  
 gene mentioned in the pass of Tenda. They  
 all were in Turin, which was bombarded at  
 the same time by an English fleet. If that  
 town had been taken, Provence and Dauphiné  
 must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the  
 enemy. But sickness, diseases, and the oppor-  
 tune arrival of fresh succours, caused the siege  
 to be raised, and gave in that quarter to be  
 neglected.

However, new necessities were still im-  
 pending, and an attempt upon Scotland, in fa-  
 vour of the Pretender, was unsuccessful. The  
 captain Farnham saved the fleet, which could  
 not be driven without much difficulty, against  
 the English and contrary winds. Louis enter-  
 tained still better hopes from the campaign in  
 Flanders, where his grandson, the duke of Bur-  
 gundy, famous for those virtues with which he  
 had been inspired by Fœnelon, commanded an  
 army of one hundred thousand men, and was  
 assisted by Vendôme. The taking of Ghent  
 and Lys, a conquest of no great difficulty, as  
 a secret correspondence was kept up in both  
 places, seemed to presage better fortune. Un-  
 luckily, that pious prince and his courtiers  
 could not agree with a general who had no  
 tincture of devotion; and a difference of cha-

racter and principles broke that union which is so needful to procure success. What was essential at bottom was, not to entertain just thoughts of religion, but to serve the state with fidelity. Prince Eugene and Marlborough were strictly united both in the field and the cabinet, and profited by the faults which this misunderstanding could not fail to occasion. They routed the French army at Oudenarde, and laid siege to Lille ; an attempt apparently rash, but which was justified by the event. The excellent defence made by the marechal de Bouffiers for near four months, only served to add to the glory of the conquerors. They next made themselves masters of Ghent and Bruges. Paris trembled, and not without reason ; for some officers in the Dutch service, chiefly French refugees, advanced as far as Versailles, and carried off the king's master of the horse, whom they mistook for the Dauphin.

Battle  
of  
Oudenarde,  
taking  
of Lille  
and other  
places.

The next year completed the calamities of France. Clement XI., Albani, who had always espoused the interests of France, seeing the ecclesiastical state threatened by the Imperialists, was obliged to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain. His suffrage was of great consequence in the opinion of a superstitious people, who abhorred the heretics, by whom that prince was supported. The English took Sardinia from Spain, and gave it to the emperor, and had taken Minorca the year before. The Moors made themselves masters of Oran, on the coast of Africa, and the monarchy seemed every where to fall to ruin.

1709.  
Philip V.  
loses  
ground.

To so many losses the scourge of nature seemed to be added. A severe winter made them

Louis sees  
for  
peace.

despair of any harvest, and France was so exhausted as to seem incapable of new efforts. The provinces rung with complaints, and Louis sued for peace without a hope of obtaining tolerable conditions; but he wanted to convince his people that the war was continued against his inclination. At last the marquis de Torci, the king's chief minister, went to negotiate in person at the Hague, where he was obliged to tolerate the haughty demeanour of the grand pensionary Heinsius, who joined with Marlborough and prince Eugene in the design of humbling France. He was disgusted with their proposals, in which they demanded that the king should join with them to dethrone his grandson, that he should renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and yield to the Dutch ten towns in Flanders, and other places. These odious proposals produced a favourable effect for Louis XIV. By a circular letter, he showed the public not only the cruel injustice of the enemy, but likewise the necessity of defending himself against them. The sense of the evils which they endured, was suspended by honour and indignation.

*Villars and  
Boufflers  
in  
Flanders.*

Villars commanded an army of about seventy thousand men in Flanders, and the marechal Boufflers, though his senior, had desired to serve under him; a generosity more honourable for him than to have the command in chief. Tournay had newly surrendered, and Eugene and Marlborough were going to lay siege to Mons; but they attacked the French, who were anxious to obstruct their design.

*Battle of  
Malplaquet.*

From the obstinacy of the combatants, and the quantity of blood that was spilt, the battle



of Malplaquet surpassed all the rest. Though the French soldiery had been without bread the preceding day, they threw away a part of what had been newly distributed to them, and forgot their wants, to yield to that martial ardour with which they were inspired. The left wing of the allies, which was composed of the Dutch troops, was cut in pieces, but Marlborough gained ground. Villars was wounded while hastening to oppose his progress ; but the allies gained the field of battle, and Boufflers retreated in good order. The loss of France did not exceed eight thousand men, while that of the allies was more than twenty thousand ; however, that did not prevent them from taking Mons. Opinion sometimes has prodigious influence in the success of armies ; the loss of the field of battle is sufficient to dishearten those who are in fact the strongest.

France was threatened with an invasion on the other side of the kingdom.- The duke of Savoy had passed the Alps and taken Anneci, and was to advance into Burgundy, where he expected to be joined by the Imperialists, after having penetrated into Franche-comté. This bold attempt, which was prudently concerted, failed, by the count de Merci being defeated at Rumersheim. The count de Bourg, afterwards a marechal of France, had the honour of defeating him, and in some degree preserving the kingdom. But if the war was not brought to an end, what was still to be expected ? Louis was to be humbled under a new load of misfortunes.

Scheme  
of  
the enemy  
against  
Burgundy  
fails.

## CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH. INTRIGUES AT LONDON. DISGRACE OF MARLBOROUGH, AND PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE.

**Humiliating offers of Louis.** THAT dreadful conqueror, who, in 1672, subdued almost all Holland, and, by refusing tolerable conditions to the conquered, inspired them with the courage of despair, now found himself under the necessity of begging a humiliating peace from these same Hollanders, from a persuasion that he could not obtain it by any other means. He offered them a barrier, in which Tournay and Lille were comprehended; to restore Strasburg and Brisac, to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain, and to give no assistance to Philip V. We may judge by these offers how much the kingdom was exhausted, and to what a dreadful situation it was reduced.

**They could not be prudently rejected.** If the general welfare could have prevailed over particular passions, undoubtedly the allies would not have hesitated. Were not they likewise sufferers? Were they not exhausted? Were they always secure of victory? Could not a

single reverse of fortune wrest from them those great advantages, which might have been secured to them by a stroke of the pen? But, on the one hand, the ambition of Eugene and Marlborough made them desirous to continue the war; on the other, the pride of the grand pensionary Heinsius flattered him with the hopes of crushing Louis XIV. Holland was without a stadtholder ever since the death of William III.; however, Heinsius, who was not so ambitious as William, followed the same political system with regard to France, and gave himself up entirely to the guidance of these two generals.

The French ambassadors, who were received into the little town of Gertruydenberg by way of favour, for they would not deign to admit them to the conferences with the other plenipotentiaries, seeing their offers rejected with a tone of contempt, humbled themselves so far as to promise assistance, in money, to carry on the war against Philip V. The allies carried their barbarity to such an excessive length, as to require that he should turn his arms against him, and be obliged, without assistance, to dethrone him in a couple of months; without which condition, they refused to treat. This was to make a peace impossible, and to render themselves, in the sight of mankind, guilty of all the cruelties of an unjust war.

To complete these evils, the arrogance of the allies was cherished by success. They took Douai, Bethune, Saint-Venant, and Aire; the barrier towns of France fell one after another, and the public misery occasioned universal despair. A new edict imposed a tax of the tenth

Wish him  
to  
dethrone his  
grandson.

New  
misfortunes  
of France.

of all the revenues ; and this burden, unfortunately necessary, was registered without obstruction. The affairs in Spain succeeded no better, and the moment was arrived in which all hope was at an end.

Philip V.  
again leaves  
Madrid.

After the battle of Almanza in 1707, the marquis de Bay gained another victory in 1709, at Gudina in Estremadura, yet Philip found himself upon the point of being driven out of his kingdom. Louis XIV. had been obliged to recal his troops for his own defence ; and the Spaniards, twice beaten in Catalonia, were again defeated at Saragossa, by the celebrated German general Stahrenberg, and Philip once more quitted his capital. The archduke again entered Madrid, and caused himself to be proclaimed anew ; but the sorrow with which the countenances of the Castilians were impressed, declared their fidelity to their lawful king.

Vendôme in  
Spain.

One man only was asked from the court of France, the famous duke de Vendôme, who had not served since the unfortunate campaign of Lille. No general ever knew better than he how to inspire his army with a military enthusiasm : and, upon his arrival, the Spaniards thought they had found a Saviour. The grandees of that country were deliberating on what rank should be given to him : *Any rank is sufficient*, said the hero : *I do not come to contend for precedence, but to save your king.* He very soon was provided both with an army and money ; and the zeal of the nation was such, as to seem to do more than was possible. The archduke quitted Madrid : and Vendôme having convinced the king's father, hastened to attack his

astonished enemies. He besieged the English general, Stanhope, in Brihuega, made him prisoner with five thousand men, and next day gained a decisive victory over Stahrenberg at Villaviciosa ; upon which occasion Philip acquired great honour. Both he and the arch-duke had been blamed for not having animated their troops by their own presence. After the battle of Almanza, the earl of Peterborough said, *People are very good-natured to fight for them.*

The emperor Joseph I., whose good fortune had never failed him, who had dismembered a part of the Spanish monarchy for his own advantage, who had most arbitrarily disposed of the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, rejoiced at the humiliation of the king of France, and had defeated the Hungarian rebels, died at the age of thirty-three, at the height of human prosperity. His brother, Charles VI., whom he attempted to raise to the throne of Spain, was his heir, and, after an inter-regnum of six months, was elected emperor. Peace was naturally expected to be the consequence of this unlooked-for event.

Death of the  
emperor  
Joseph.  
Charles VI.

Some preparations had been making for it a considerable time in England ; and the intrigues of the court were of use to the cause of humanity. This is too remarkable a circumstance not to engage the attention, and nothing serves better to show the influence which caprice, whim, and trifles, have on the fate of kingdoms and empires.

Secret  
intrigues in  
England  
to effect a  
peace.

There was always an opposition between the Whigs and Tories, which proved the more keen, that religious sentiments were added to politics

The  
Whigs rule  
in London.

to foment the division. The first favoured some of the principles of the Presbyterians, and the second were zealous sticklers for Episcopacy. Marlborough having declared in favour of the Whigs, that faction not only ruled, but even persecuted. An enemy of peace, it entered into all the views of the general, whose credit and immense fortune had their foundation in war. A love of money, that disgraceful passion in so great a man, contributed, as much as the honours which were conferred upon him, to render him an irreconcilable enemy to the family of Bourbon. His wife governed queen Anne; Godolphin, the treasurer, was his friend, and the father-in-law of one of his daughters; and the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, his son-in-law, was equally devoted to him; so that, while there was no change of ministry, he disposed of every thing as he pleased.

Harley and  
Boling-  
broke.

But the duchess of Marlborough, who was haughty to a degree of insolence, forgot that favour should be skillfully employed, to be secure against disgrace. She made the queen too sensible of her influence, and gave so much reason for disgust, that in 1708 another favourite, lady Masham, who was her relation and creature, was already become a rival, by whom she was on the point of being supplanted; and from that time cabals against the duke began to be formed. The hopes of the Tories were revived. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, secretary of state, and the famous St John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, formed the plan of a revolution.

Sacheverel.

In those countries where the affairs of the government are influenced by the populace, it is

necessary to give them an impression according to its views, by means which are analogous to their way of thinking and feeling; and the springs of religion are almost always the strongest. Doctor Sacheverel, one of those zealous enthusiasts, who, though void of understanding, could lead the multitude, preached and printed his declamations in favour of passive obedience, religious intolerance, and, in one word, against the principles and government of the Whigs. In 1709 he was accused by the house of commons, and his trial engaged the attention of all ranks. The clergy and people declared in his favour with so much heat, that a sedition was apprehended. The queen was present at the trial as a spectatress, and it was universally known that she approved a doctrine favourable to royalty. Many of the principal Tories declared, that the doctor's sermons were absurd, but maintained there was not sufficient ground for condemnation. Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of only seventeen voices. The parliament ordered his sermon to be burnt, and himself to be suspended for three years. A more rigorous sentence was expected; and the Tories, fancying themselves triumphant, entered into new intrigues.

Such was the weakness of the queen for the duchess of Marlborough, that, if she would have restrained her haughtiness, she might have long preserved her influence; but, at last, her overbearing, fiery temper rendered her unsufferable, and the new favourite, whom she had insulted, seized the opportunity to be revenged. Anne being wounded to the quick, burst her bonds, and Godolphin, Sunderland, and the

Diagnose  
of  
the duchess  
of  
Marlbo:  
rough.

other leaders of the Whig party, were very soon dismissed. The ministry was changed, and it was necessary likewise to change the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel once more appeared upon the scene ; a benefice was bestowed upon him, the clergy and people yielded to the prevailing enthusiasm, and almost all the elections were made in favour of Tories. Without this trifling accident, perhaps, this revolution would not have taken place. The people of all countries are the same.

*Invectives  
of the Tories  
against  
the duke of  
Marlborough:  
rough.*

When the Tories got into power, they became, like the Whigs, insolent persecutors. They inveighed against the former ministers, and against Marlborough. The noble actions, the great services of that general, were defaced by party hatred ; nothing was spoken of but his insatiable avarice, and things of the most odious kinds were imputed to him ; his abilities were insulted, and even his courage rendered problematical. The English seem to have been seized with the levity and ingratitude of the Athenians ; or rather, in the transports of faction, they showed themselves, what they always have been in similar circumstances, less reasonable than passionate and unjust.

*Obstructions  
to  
a peace.*

However, the court durst not take the command of the army from Marlborough. While the war continued, he was almost certain of preserving considerable power ; and however great the queen's inclination for peace, the national prejudices against France, and the pride of victory, presented powerful obstacles.



But the emperor Joseph being dead, and all his dominions inherited by Charles, it was the interest of England to adopt a different system, and not exhaust herself in the cause of another. She bore the burthen of the war, while Holland and the house of Austria reaped the fruits. If she had taken up arms to preserve the balance of power in Europe; if there was room to dread that the family of France, being placed on the throne of Spain, would make the balance lean to that side, ought she to set all those crowns upon one head which had rendered the house of Austria too formidable? Was it not high time to put an end to the calamities of Europe? Could England do any thing more for her own glory?

The motives  
for war  
no  
longer  
substantiated.

Queen Anne and her ministers were kept in restraint by the engagements which had been entered into with the allies; but, by means of an obscure priest, whose name was Gualtier, a secret negociation had been begun with the court of Versailles; and the ministry of Louis XIV. was assured, that, if they pleased, a peace might be concluded without the interposition of Holland. *This was, as M. de Torci expresses it in his Memoirs, asking a sick man, attacked by a long and dangerous disorder, if he wished to be cured.* The poet Prior was employed in this negociation; and, what is very uncommon, both parties acted with equal sincerity.

Secret  
negotiations  
at  
Versailles.

The war, however, was still continued, and Marlborough made France tremble. He forced the lines of marechal de Villars, which extended from Montreuil to Valenciennes. He next attempted the siege of Bouchain; a bold un-

1711.  
Marlborough  
takes  
Bouchain.

dertaking, attended with the same success, so that there was scarce any obstruction left between him and Paris.

Preliminaries  
of peace.

Happily the pacific disposition of the British court set bounds to the ambition of that general; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor and the states-general, the preliminaries of peace were signed; by which a barrier was secured to the allies, and Dunkirk demolished. Marlborough was stript of his employments, but preserved the riches which he had acquired during the war. Accused of speculation, he would, perhaps, have fallen a victim to the Tories, if the queen had not, by prudent moderation, spun out to a great length the odious prosecution.

Prince  
Eugene in  
London.

It was in vain that prince Eugene came to London in hopes of defeating the views of the ministry. He was received with honour, but his hopes were frustrated; yet he gave an eminent proof of his esteem for the disgraced hero. One day, when dining with Harley, earl of Oxford, the author of the revolution in the ministry, that minister said, that he congratulated himself on having the greatest general in Europe at his table. *If I am*, replied the prince, *I owe it to you*. Marlborough could not be more highly praised, nor more amply revenged for the insults of his enemies.

The Dutch  
join in  
the  
conferences.

To see England upon the point of abandoning them, was a just punishment for the arrogance of the Dutch. They were informed in the queen's name, that if they deferred to concur in the preliminaries, the delay would be construed into a refusal; upon which they con-

sented to open the conferences at Utrecht, which ended in a peace that ought to have been eagerly promoted by all the powers of Europe.

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## ERA OF LOUIS XIV.

## BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE END OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS  
XIV. AND THE HISTORY OF THE CZAR  
PETER I. AND CHARLES XII.

## CHAPTER I.

NEGOCIATIONS OF UTRECHT. VICTORIES OF FRANCE.  
END OF THE WAR IN 1714.

THE congress of Utrecht was opened in January 1712, but did not at first keep pace with the expectations of Louis XIV. However anxious queen Anne was to procure a peace, she desired as much as possible that the allies should be satisfied ; but their wishes were by no means pacific. The emperor Charles VI. opposed the dismembering of the Spanish monarchy, and the Dutch did not confine their pretensions to the barrier which they demanded. Their negotiations were always carried on with a captious

1712.  
The  
emperor and  
the  
Dutch  
oppose the  
peace.

insincerity, never explaining their demands, but waiting to make such, as contingencies recommended, and endeavouring to reduce France to accept such terms as they should please to offer.

Embarrassment of the English plenipotentiaries.

On the other hand, the English plenipotentiaries were reserved and timid, from the apprehension of changes so common in England; a dread the better founded, as they foresaw a new reign. 'These plenipotentiaries,' says Torci, 'so far from speaking freely to those of France, still talked the language of enemies. They minutely obeyed their orders, and their instructions were the pledges of their conduct. It is dangerous to act otherwise in a country liable to such changes, where, according as parties prevail, they may be judged worthy either of rewards or punishments; an unfortunate uncertainty, to which the plenipotentiaries of France were not exposed, as they had only to obey the king, whom alone they were to please, and which they were sure of doing by the punctual execution of clear and exact instructions given to them, without any secret reserve by his majesty.' This anecdote gives a sufficiently just idea of the difference of the two governments; and Torci, no doubt, preferred that of Versailles.

New obstruction by the death of the children of France.

To so many causes of delay was added an unforeseen obstruction, which arose from the domestic calamities that befel Louis XIV. In 1711, he had lost his only son the dauphin; and the duke of Burgundy, who next succeeded to that title, likewise died at the age of thirty; a prince deserving universal regret, since, from him, was expected the reign of a sage. His wife

the dauphiness, an accomplished princess, had ended her life but six days before him ; and, in a few days after, their eldest son, the duke of Bretagne, expired. The duke d'Anjou, Louis XV., was threatened with approaching death. The right of succession to the crown might therefore very soon descend to the king of Spain, who was the second son of the first dauphin ; and, by this chain of misfortunes, the union of the two crowns, which was the cause of apprehensions in Europe, was no longer improbable.

This determined queen Anne to demand, as an essential condition of the peace, that Philip V. should purely and simply renounce the crown of France, and transfer his title to his younger brother the duke de Berri. The council of Versailles were of opinion that such a renunciation must be null, from the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had the honesty to declare it; and Torci maintained that judgment, upon a passage in Jerome Bignon, who supposes that the fundamental law to which this refers, is, in the eyes of the people, the work of God himself, and that it can only be abolished by him. They might have reasoned better than Jerome Bignon on the subject, without wounding the incontestable rights of the reigning family : in important affairs especially, none but solid reasons should be alleged.

Bolingbroke, the queen's secretary, prudently replied : ' We are willing to believe, that in France you are persuaded that none but God can abolish the law upon which you found the right of succession ; but we must be pardoned

The  
renunciation  
of  
Philip V.  
demanded.

Answer  
of  
Bolingbroke

for believing in England, that a prince may depart from his claims by a voluntary renunciation ; and that he in whose favour it has been made, may, with justice, be supported in his pretensions by those powers who have guaranteed the treaty.'

Alternative  
proposed  
to  
the king of  
Spain.

Necessity, which pleads stronger than any argument, very soon persuaded Louis, who advised his grandson to take this unavoidable step. To facilitate the peace, England proposed another alternative ; either that Philip should make the proposed renunciation, or yield Spain to the duke of Savoy ; to receive in exchange his dominions, with Monferrat, Mantua, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; so that if he, or any of his descendants, should succeed to the crown of France, it might be re-united to all these territories, except Sicily, which should be detached for the family of Austria. Louis preferred the last expedient. In writing to the king of Spain : *I shall look upon it as the greatest happiness of my life*, said he, *if you take the resolution to come nearer to me, and to preserve claims which you will fruitlessly regret, if you ever abandon them.* But Philip alleging that he owed it to his own glory and the zeal of his subjects, preferred Spain, consented to the renunciation, and agreed to a suspension of arms. The English desired to have Dunkirk put into their hands till the peace should be concluded ; and it was agreed to, because a mutual confidence reigned between the two courts, and they were anxious to have the peace concluded.

The  
English

Holland, however, had redoubled her efforts for the first campaign. Quesnoi was taken by



prince Eugene, who proposed to the duke of Ormond, the English general, to engage the French. It was at this time the suspension of hostilities between England and France was declared. The duke separated from the allies ; but most of the foreign troops who were in the queen's pay refused to follow him ; and prince Eugene, who still had a superior army, laid siege to Landreci. France was reduced to the greatest extremity ; and it was debated in council whether the king should leave Versailles. He was resolved, in case of a new disaster, to assemble the nobility, to lead them against the enemy, and to die with his arms in his hands. That monarch, who appeared greater in adversity than when surrounded with the pomp of victories, interests the feelings of the heart, after having long dazzled the eye.

separate  
from  
the allies.

It was now time that the enemy should experience, in their turn, how much men are blinded in trusting to fortune. A parish-priest and a magistrate of Douay were the first that conceived it would be easy to attack two essential posts of prince Eugene, whose lines were excessively extended, and at a great distance from his camp. An idea conceived by accident may be productive of great consequences. Upon the information given to the marechals Villars and Montesquieu, the plan of an enterprise was laid, by which France was preserved. What was not to be dreaded, if it did not succeed !

Project  
for  
attacking  
the  
enemy.

Villars made a feint as if he wanted to attack prince Eugene's camp ; and, having amused him, suddenly fell upon Denain, where the duke of Albemarle was entrenched ; and, hav-

Battle  
of  
Denain.

ing forced the entrenchments, made the duke, and all who were with him, prisoners, rapidly carrying the different posts along the Scarpe. He next attacked Maroennes, where the magazines of the enemy were deposited, and carried it in three days. Prince Eugene raised the siege of Landreci, and lost Saint Amand, Douay, Le Quesnoy, and Bouchain. He retreated, after having lost a great part of his army, without coming to an action, forty battalions being made prisoners. From that time the superiority seemed to be on the side of France, and the enemies of the peace were punished for their imprudence and cruel ambition.

Renuncia-  
tion  
of Philip  
published in  
France.

Then it was that Philip V. made a solemn renunciation, and the court of Great Britain insisted upon its being ratified by the states-general of France, 'But,' says Torci, in his Memoirs, 'the authority which foreigners ascribe to the states being unknown in France, this clause was changed by the king: he only promised to accept the renunciation of the king his grandson; that it should then be published by his order, and, in the most solemn manner, registered in all the parliaments of the kingdom.' In fact, from the year 1614 the national assembly was only to be heard of in history. The duke of Berri, brother of Philip, in the same manner renounced the crown of Spain, in case he succeeded to that of France; as did likewise the duke of Orleans. The best security for these renunciations was undoubtedly the apprehensions of Europe for the balance of power.

The Cortes  
change  
the order of

The Cortes, which had formerly been so powerful in Spain, but at present are forgotten,

like the states-general of France, confirmed the renunciation of Philip. They did more; for they changed the order of succession in favour of the males, instead of the females, who inherited the Spanish monarchy preferably to princes who were not so nearly related; and from that time it was established, that the males should have the preference. Had it not been for this regulation, the descendants of Philip V. might have seen the crown, by right of marriage, descend to foreigners, and the renunciation turn out to their disadvantage. An object of such importance merited the attention of the *Cortes*.

succession  
in  
Spain.

The court of Great Britain having removed every obstruction to a peace on their side, the tone of the Dutch was changed, and they humbly begged to renew those conferences which they had broken off. The abbé Polignac, second plenipotentiary of Louis XIV., wrote in the following terms: 'We act the same part the Dutch did at Gertruydenberg, and they act ours: this is complete revenge. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's minister, feels his declension very severely.' Struck with dismay at the last campaign, the states-general were obliged to follow the steps of England, whatever efforts were made to prevent them by the court of Vienna.

The Dutch  
obtain  
a  
peace.

At last the peace was signed at Utrecht, agreeably to the preliminaries settled with Louis. We shall give an abridgment of the principal articles.

1713.  
Treaty  
of  
Utrecht.

1. France obliges herself not to suffer the Pretender in her dominions, nor to acknowledge the claims of the house of Stuart. She guaran-

Articles  
for  
England.

tees the order of succession settled in favour of the house of Hanover. The English parliament had declared, that if queen Anne died without children, the crown was to descend to the princess Sophia, daughter of the elector palatine Frederic V., the grand-daughter of James I. and the mother of George I., who succeeded in virtue of that act. Forty-five people were reckoned, who, by their birth, had a preferable title; but the English consulted only their hatred against the Catholic league. Hudson's Bay, the islands of St Christopher and Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, to be ceded to England; important acquisitions in America. The harbour of Dunkirk to be filled up, and the fortifications to be demolished, with a promise never to repair them. Spain yielded to Great Britain Gibraltar, the island of Minorca, and the *assiento* or negro-trade for thirty years.

Barrier  
of Holland.

2. France engaged to deliver up the Spanish Low Countries to the States-general, for the house of Austria to enjoy the perfect sovereignty. No part of these provinces can ever belong to that crown, nor even to any prince of the blood. The Dutch shall garrison those places destined for a barrier, according to a treaty which they had concluded with England, to which shall be added Tournai, Ipres, Menin, and some other towns; but Lisle, Aire, Bethune, Saint-Venant, in exchange, to be restored to Louis XIV.

The duke  
of  
Savoy king  
of Sicily.

3. The duke of Savoy to be acknowledged heir to the Spanish monarchy, failing the posterity of Philip V. The summit of the Alps to be the boundary between France and his do-

minions. Exille, Fenestrelle, Château-dauphin, and some other places, to be ceded to him. Spain likewise ceded to him the kingdom of Sicily, under a clause of reversion, failing heirs-male. Victor Amadeus was a great gainer by his defection.

4. The elector of Bavaria to keep Luxemburg and the county of Namur until he shall be recompensed for his losses. Philip V. had given him the sovereignty of the Spanish Low Countries, of which he only retained this part. The kingdom of Sardinia was likewise granted to him. The reestablishment of that prince, and his brother the elector of Cologne, was always one of the principal objects of the generosity of the king of France.

House  
of Bavaria.

5. Besides the Low Countries, the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese were left to the house of Austria. Louis yielded Landau, Kehl, and Brisac, to the empire. The elector of Brandenburg to be acknowledged king of Prussia, to whom Spanish Guelderland was to be ceded.

House  
of Austria.

6. Portugal to be comprehended in the general peace. All the contracting powers acknowledged Philip V., who lost no part of his dominions, except such as were rather hurtful than advantageous to Spain from their distance.

Portugal,  
Spain.

The emperor Charles VI., by acquiescing in the peace of Utrecht, would have gained some certain advantages, and have happily put an end to a war which made Europe stream with blood for thirteen years. He flattered himself with the hope of wresting new concessions from

Charles VI.  
suffers for  
not  
concluding  
a peace.

France, without the assistance of England and Holland ; a rash expectation ! and he had cause for repentance. Villars took Landau, crossed the Rhine, defeated general Vaubonne, made himself master of Fribourg, by this means compelled the emperor to accept a peace, and had the honour of concluding it with prince Eugene at Rastadt.

1714.  
Treaty  
of Rastadt.

By this treaty France preserved Landau, and the frontiers were left exactly the same as at the peace of Ryswick. Charles got from the Spanish monarchy what had been ceded to him at Utrecht. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne had their dominions restored by the emperor ; but neither he nor the empire acknowledged the king of Spain, who, on his part, did not acknowledge the emperor. However, their titles were not less determined. The peace with the empire was signed at Baden.

Ambition  
often  
deceived.

How obnoxious are ambitious politicians to be mistaken in their calculations ! It was expected that France would be stript of a number of provinces ; yet she lost nothing in Europe but some of those places which she had formerly conquered. If we reflect upon the offers made by Louis at the conference of Gertruydenberg, we must be sensible, that, independent of the cause of humanity, it is a folly to refuse peace when it can be made to advantage : and what shall we think of the conquests of Louis XIV. purchased by so many wars equally ruinous and bloody ?

Catalonia  
subdued.

Nothing remained for the king of Spain to reduce but Catalonia, which continued obstinately to refuse submission, and, though de-

prived of all assistance, still preserved an enthusiastic love of liberty. Louis sent some troops and a squadron, and they laid siege to Barcelona both by sea and land; but the inhabitants defended themselves like madmen. Their courage was inflamed to a degree of fanaticism by their priests and monks, of whom, it is said, more than five hundred fell with arms in their hands. However, the marechal de Berwick obliged this great city to capitulate, when the most guilty were punished, and the privileges of the province abolished.

Philip V., in quiet possession of his kingdom, always showed a blind submission to his favourite the princess Ursini, who had governed the queen, Mary Louisa of Savoy. Upon the death of the queen, it was reported that she was to be succeeded by the princess Ursini; but, led by the deceitful information of Alberoni, an ecclesiastic of low birth, a native of Placentia, she persuaded the king to marry Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, whom that Italian represented as a woman void of spirit, of a weak understanding, and, of course, easily governed. Nothing could be more unjust than this picture. Elizabeth had scarcely set foot in Spain, when the favourite, not being sufficiently guarded in her discourse, she caused her to be immediately dismissed, and all the ministry to be changed. Orri, whose zeal to restore the finances occasioned commotions in Spain, and chiefly in the Inquisition, from his meddling with the privileges of the church, was sent back to France. Alberoni, a man of extensive genius and bold

Second  
marriage of  
Philip V.

temper, very soon got the reins of government into his hands, and formed vast projects, which, as we shall have occasion to observe, brought on his own destruction.



## CHAPTER II.

DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE, AND THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND. DEATH OF LOUIS XIV.

IF party-spirit had not stifled the feelings of nature, and obscured the light of reason, queen Anne would have been universally celebrated as the benefactress of the human race. She brought to an end a most dreadful war, where relations fought against relations, where the particular interests of a few princes gave up the finest countries in Europe to fire and sword; and the ambition of some generals sacrificed the blood and treasure of the people unnecessarily. She showed every possible regard for the interest of her allies, though they did not furnish their contingencies, and persevered against her equitable measures. She gloriously freed her kingdom from the burden of a ruinous war, which was only interesting to the Austrian power. She obtained the approbation of her parliament, where the Commons complained of being burdened with nineteen millions during the course of the war. In a word, the great work which crowned the glory of her reign deserves the highest applause.

The glory  
queen Anne  
acquired  
by  
the peace.

The Whigs  
decide  
against it.

The Whigs, however, railed against the peace with unbounded licentiousness ; and the nation was overrun with libels and satires, and reports were spread the most likely to inflame hot-headed men. The queen, said they, wants to place her brother, the Pretender, on the throne ; Popery will prevail, the laws are threatened, the constitution is in danger. These seditious rumours disturbed the parliament ; and, notwithstanding the prudent representations of the queen, they offered a reward of five thousand pounds sterling to whoever should seize the person of the Pretender, if he attempted to effect a descent in the kingdom. He had withdrawn to Lorraine.

1714.  
Anne dies.

Queen Anne, consumed with vexation, which increased her infirmities, died in the fiftieth year of her age : a good princess, but of narrow genius and a weak character, though she loved her people, and lived a life of virtue. Her reign was an uninterrupted series of prosperity, which she owed to her generals and ministers.

1707.  
The Scottish  
union.

In 1706 she executed a scheme which had been fruitlessly attempted by king William ; the uniting of England and Scotland into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain. The intractability of the Scots, the mutual antipathy of the two nations, the disturbances continually springing from these principles, rendered the project extremely useful, but at the same time increased the obstructions. The treaty, of which the following are the principal articles, was at last concluded. 1. That all the subjects of Great Britain shall have the same privileges and the same laws. 2. That the whole kingdom

shall be represented by one parliament, into which sixteen peers and forty-five commoners of Scotland shall be admitted. 3. That all the peers of Scotland shall enjoy the same privileges as those of England, except the right of sitting in parliament. This exception was attacked, as contrary to the fundamental laws and essential rights of the peerage. The church of Scotland, which was Presbyterian, occasioned another subject of dispute; for the antipathy of the sects was not then extinguished. They exaggerated the inconveniences, and lessened the advantages. But now that the ferment is dispersed, what appeared at that time a monster, is now no longer any thing. Experience, sooner or later, causes chimeras to vanish; so rare is it to do a great public good, without some particular inconvenience.

It was declared, by a law passed in this reign, that no man could be the representative of a county in parliament, unless he had six hundred pounds sterling a year in land; and for a borough, one half of that sum. This law was made with a view of excluding those who were only traders, from an assembly where the possessors of landed property were thought more worthy of being the representatives of the nation. The evil of bribing both the electors and elected, was of such a nature as to increase continually; and the mischief still grew worse under a foreign family, which had more need of that resource to support its authority.

Such were the prejudices occasioned by the imprudent zeal of the last of the Stuarts, that in the dread of seeing a Catholic upon the throne, the English preferred the dominion of

Property  
required,  
to be  
admitted  
into  
parliament.

The English  
prefer  
a foreigner  
to  
the Stuarts.

a foreigner, to that of a prince of the royal family, to an Englishman. The princess Sophia being dead, her son, the elector of Hanover, was, without difficulty, acknowledged by the name of George I. It was a prodigious inconvenience, that the king of England, as a prince of Germany, had some interests which were worse than indifferent to his kingdom; but his people only thought of being delivered from a Catholic family, and to banish for ever every idea of Popery.

George I. declared too openly for the Whigs.

George, who, at his accession, was fifty-four years of age, and already distinguished by his personal merit, ought, it would seem, to hold the balance between the Whigs and the Tories, rather than to foment the spirit of faction, by declaring in favour of the one against the other; but whether he thought that to be impossible, or his interest or inclination led him to the party most opposite to the Stuarts, the Whigs immediately gained his whole confidence. Marlborough was again placed at the head of the army, and Bolingbroke was dismissed from the ministry. A parliament devoted to the court, which did not neglect the means of corruption, after having fixed the ordinary revenue of the crown at seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, very soon began to persecute the Tories. The dukes of Ormonde, Bolingbroke and Oxford, were accused of high treason; the two first withdrew to France, and, failing to appear, a bill of attainder was found against them; and Oxford, who had been dismissed a little before the death of queen Anne, remained two years in the Tower before he was discharged. He was

even excepted from an act of indemnity, which was published too late.

It was impossible but the severities of the new government must occasion disturbances. The Jacobites, or the Pretender's party, prepared for a rebellion, and the minister was exposed to the same storms in which so many eminent persons had fallen victims. It was this which inspired him with a bold scheme, dangerous for the constitution, but exceedingly useful to the royal authority, and which succeeded beyond the king's expectations. As that parliament was exceedingly docile, it was proposed to extend their duration to seven years, and specious pretences over-ruled every good reason ; so that the bill passed into a law. Thus triennial parliaments, which were a barrier set up against the attempts of the crown in the time of king William, were destroyed by the influence of the court. Since that time some attempts have been made to restore them ; and perhaps more will be made equally unsuccessful.

Louis XIV. did not long survive queen Anne ; however, he again experienced the haughtiness of the English. Having demolished Dunkirk, as had been stipulated, he made a harbour at Mardyke, comparable to the one which was destroyed ; of which the English ambassador having haughtily complained, the work was abandoned, to prevent a rupture.

Some new theological disputes being stirred up by the king's confessor, poisoned the close of his reign. Father Le Tellier, a violent, severe, haughty man and bigotted theologian, directed, according to his pleasure, the con-

Septennial  
parliament.

Works  
at Mardyke.

Le Tellier  
the  
king's con:  
fessor.  
Book  
of  
F. Quenmel.

science of the old monarch, who was more than ever susceptible of the impressions of false zeal. The *Reflections* of Quesnel, a Father of the Oratory, upon the New Testament, had a tincture of Jansenism. It was easy, with a little attention, to discover in that book the spirit of the Port-royal, which at that time was so suspected and decried. But it was as easy to foresee, that, by persecuting the author, the readers, and favourers of the book, infinitely more harm would be done, than by some false propositions scattered through four volumes of piety. But this is never thought of by those who endeavour to direct the opinions of men by force.

The bull  
Unigenitus  
of  
Clement  
XI.

A hundred and one propositions of Quesnel, which Le Tellier wanted to discredit, were condemned in 1713, by the famous bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI. It would have perhaps been better to have lessened the number, and not to have incurred the reproach of having placed among them some respectable truths. One of the propositions was, *The dread of an unjust excommunication ought not to prevent a man from doing his duty*. Whatever bad sense might be put upon it, it afforded matter of dispute and railing. The acceptance and registration of this bull was made an affair of state. The king's confessor having met with numberless obstacles, though he had the nomination to the vacant benefices, employed the most hateful intrigues, issued *lettres de cachet* in vast numbers, stirred up a great part of the nation, drew an irreconcilable hatred upon his order, and poisoned the latter years of his master's life, to erect the constitution of the pope into a law of the church and kingdom.

By an edict which was registered in 1714, the king called his legitimated children to the succession, failing the princes of the blood, with whom he put them upon a level; but this edict was revoked in 1717. His will, which settled a regency, was not regarded after his death; and the duke of Orleans caused it to be annulled by an arret.

Edict  
in favour  
of the  
legitimated  
princes.

If Louis XIV. committed some great faults, during a reign of seventy-two years, he in some degree confessed it, when he made use of the following memorable expressions to his successor : *Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war ; do not imitate me in that, nor in being too expensive. Take advice on all occasions, and endeavour to discover the best, that you may always follow it. Relieve your people as soon as you can, and do that which, unfortunately, I could not do.* He chiefly advised him never to forget his duty to God; a powerful motive to remind sovereigns of what they owe to men.

1715.  
Louis  
confesses  
his  
faults.

He preserved that courage to the last which characterizes a vigorous mind. *Why do you weep,* said he to his domestics; *did you think I was immortal?* He died the first of September 1715, in the seventy-eighth year of his age; leaving the state burthened with a debt of two thousand millions. The misfortunes which the people had long been suffering, the taxes, the public misery, and the ferment occasioned by the bull, made them forget his days of prosperity, and those sentiments which he deserved on several accounts. ' It is alleged that his mother, the queen, said to him one day when he was very young, *My son, endeavour to resemble your grand-*

His death.  
The  
people  
rejoice at it.

*father, and not your father.* The king having asked the reason, *It is,* said she, *because the people wept at the death of Henry IV., and laughed at that of Louis XIII.\**

The nation  
much  
indebted to  
him.

The death of Louis XIV. was, in general, rather a cause of joy than of sorrow; but the arts, learning, the sciences, urbanity, the pleasures of social life, civil laws, good order, domestic tranquillity, perfection in many things; in one word, a part of those advantages which we enjoy at present, ought to immortalize his memory.

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\* Voltaire.



## CHAPTER III.

RISE OF THE CZAR PETER THE GREAT, TILL THE  
WAR WITH CHARLES XII.

WE have for a long time lost sight of the Northern powers; because they had no share in the war which was entered into to secure the Spanish succession; yet Charles XII., king of Sweden, and in a more particular manner, his rival, the Czar Peter I. made themselves famous by their courage and enterprises. We shall introduce the abridgment of their history in this place; it is too interesting to be left altogether unnoticed, and is even necessarily linked with that of the southern countries of Europe. Peter the Great, who stands forth the first of Muscovite princes, was in some degree the wonder of his age. Russia, or Muscovy, which was almost unknown before his time, is become, by his industry, worthy of fixing the attention of the whole world. He may be said to have created or fostered the seeds of all those surprising improvements which have been made, and still are executing, in that country.

Peter I.  
and  
Charles XII.

The empire  
of  
Russia  
immense and  
unknown.

This empire, in its length from east to west, comprehends an extent of about nineteen hundred leagues, of which fourteen hundred and seventy belong to Siberia, and in its greatest breadth about seven hundred. The Roman empire was never so extensive ; but an immensity of country almost entirely a desert, destitute of arts, commerce, government and learning, forms only an obscure, unstable power, subject to a thousand revolutions. The glory of states ought to be derived from the same source with their power.

Christianity  
in  
Russia.

Christianity had been introduced into Russia about the end of the tenth century, by the zeal of a princess, as it had been into France, England, Poland, Hungary and other places, where the women have had such a share in the conversion of princes, which has been followed by that of their people. The Russian church, at first under the power of the patriarch of Constantinople, at the end of the sixteenth century, had an independent patriarch. In other respects the Christianity of this nation, like that of the old Barbarians, consisted only in absurd superstitions, of which the patriarch took advantage to rule the sovereign.

John  
Basilowitz,  
and  
others.

I formerly mentioned the Czar John Basilowitz, who freed the Russians from the yoke of the Tartars, extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and added Casan and Astracan to his dominions. Russia was torn in pieces after his death, and the counterfeit Demetrius set the whole empire in combustion. Michael Romanow, \* the son of an archbishop, whom he

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\* Ow, at the end of Russian names, is pronounced of.

made patriarch, was placed upon the throne by the principal Boyards, in 1613, amidst civil disturbances and the ruin of the royal family. After having ceded Smolensko to Poland, and Ingria to Sweden, he continued to reign in peace, and was succeeded, in 1645, by his son Alexis Michaelowitz, who retook Smolensko, and made some other acquisitions from the Poles. He even contended for the crown of Poland, and offered to add it to his own. He published the first Russian code, established some manufactures, peopled deserts, and, what was more, he was the father of Peter the Great.

Fædor Alexiowitz, the eldest son and successor of Alexis, laboured, like his father, to civilize Russia; but he died young, in 1682, without leaving any children; and knowing the inability of John, his brother by a first marriage, named Peter, who was of a second, his heir, though he was then only two years of age, but who had already given proofs of a superior genius. The princess Sophia, sister of the two princes, committed some dreadful excesses to secure the crown to John, or rather to seize the government into her own hands. She roused the rage of the Strelitz, a body of militia consisting of about thirty thousand men, similar to the Turkish Janisaries. She carried her point so as to cause her two brothers to be proclaimed, and herself associated with them as co-regent, and in this manner reigned some years with her favourite Basilius Galitzin; but a conspiracy against the life of Peter, which was probably formed by her, brought on her own ruin. Peter assembled some troops, pu-

Peter the  
successor of  
Fædor.

nished the seditious, confined Sophia in a monastery, and, leaving only an empty title to John, made himself master of the empire in 1689.

Scheme  
of  
reforming  
the  
empire.

That prince, bred up in ignorance by an ambitious sister, addicted to wine and debauchery, of a habit which led him to be guilty of every excess, but of a genius capable of executing the greatest enterprises, had already conceived the scheme of reforming the empire. He wanted to introduce arts, sciences, military discipline, the advantages of a navy, and whatever had rendered the other states of Europe flourishing; in one word, he wanted to create a new nation. When we reflect that the Russians had all the prejudices of barbarism, that they reckoned it a crime to go out of their own country, and looked upon foreigners with aversion, this project may appear chimerical. But if we consider the influence of authority, and particularly the example of an absolute sovereign, the ascendancy of his genius, supported by invincible steadiness, and the helps he might derive from the knowledge diffused in other countries, the design deserves admiration, and the consequence will be expected to enable us to judge with prudence.

Le Fort the  
confidant  
of  
the Czar.

A single ray of light sometimes leads great men to incredible success. The Czar wanted only ideas, and they were given to him by Le Fort, a Genevan of birth and merit, who was the principal instrument of a most wonderful revolution. He was a young man, whom the fire of youth and a desire of making his fortune had drawn to Moscow. Peter having got acquainted with him, favoured him with his

friendship, and perhaps this solid union had pleasure for its basis ; but, even in pleasures, the society of Le Fort gave birth to great designs. He had seen a great deal, but without studying any thing thoroughly ; and his penetrating genius was to enlighten and direct that of the Czar.

The army and the marine were the main objects which at first engaged the attention of that prince. Being resolved, in some future period, to abolish the Strelitz, whose dreadful seditions sometimes shook the throne, he undertook to form officers and soldiers, and to make them submit to a discipline hitherto unknown. Le Fort began with one company, which increased to a regiment of twelve thousand men. To set an example of subordination to the Boyards, Peter served in the quality of a drummer, and advanced gradually, one step after another, in his army. He pursued his plan with wonderful zeal, and, by steady perseverance, accomplished his purpose. He took the same measures to form a navy ; he caused vessels to be built by foreigners, and learnt the art of working them ; and, though he had scarce a shadow of a fleet, he appointed Le Fort admiral, always enlarging his views in the glorious career which he had opened to himself.

His first  
attempts  
for  
the army  
and  
marine.

In 1689 he concluded a treaty with Camhi, emperor of China, on account of some forts, for which they contended near the river Amur. Seven Chinese ambassadors presented themselves upon the spot, and the boundaries were settled. China had never before sent an embassy, nor concluded a treaty with any other power. ' This nation,' says M. de Voltaire, ' so

Treaty  
of  
peace with  
the  
Chinese.

renowned for the practice of morality, was ignorant of what we call *the Law of Nations*; that is, those indetermined regulations of war and peace, privileges of public ministers, forms of treaties, the obligations which are the consequence, disputes about precedency and the point of honour.' Two Jesuit missionaries smoothed the way for this unheard-of negotiation between two nations whose languages had nothing in common. The treaty was drawn up in Latin, and engraven upon two large pieces of marble, intended to mark the limits between the two empires. *The Sovereign Lord of all things* was invoked against those who should violate their oath; and it seemed that both parties respected the same God.

War  
with the  
Turks.  
Taking of  
Azoph.

The emperor Leopold, Poland, and Venice, were at that time at war with the Turks; and Russia had already made a diversion in their favour. Peter being desirous to inure his troops to war, and to profit by favourable conjunctures, undertook the siege of Azoph. This place situated at the mouth of the Don, the ancient Tanais, commands the sea to which it gives its name, and opens a passage into the Euxine. The Ottoman empire had the greatest reason to preserve it, and the Russian to make a conquest of it. A first siege, in 1695, did not succeed, but the next year it was carried by the Czar in person. His little fleet defeated the *zaïcs*\* of Constantinople; an advantage likely to increase his confidence. A triumphal entry which he made at Moscow,

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\* A kind of vessel proper for the Mediterranean.

when he walked among the crowd of officers in the train of the generals, was very well calculated to inspire courage and military subordination.

The genius of Peter would have been fettered, if it had not been for the foreigners he retained in his service. What models could he find in Russia, or what means for the execution? The more he learnt from those foreigners, the more was he sensible of the necessity of seeking information ; and his passionate desire of performing great actions, inspired him with the resolution of going to the fountain of knowledge in person. He thought that he should withdraw from his dominions for a time, to travel as a private person, not as a monarch, and to search for whatever could be of use to his own empire, at the extremities of Europe. He named three ambassadors, Le Fort and two Russians, whom he intended to visit the powers with whom he was in alliance ; and, having prudently provided for the wants of the state, and the management of public affairs, entered into the train of the ambassadors.

Peter  
resolves to  
travel  
for  
instruction.

He began his journey by Livonia, the most fertile province of the north, and subject to the crown of Sweden. The governor of Riga, by refusing him the satisfaction of viewing the fortifications, undoubtedly exasperated that haughty temper, already premeditating some schemes against the young king, Charles XII. From thence he passed on to Germany, where the debauchery of the table was but too agreeable to the tenor of Peter's life. When heated with wine at an entertainment, he drew his sword upon Le Fort ; but the sorrow with which he

His route.

was penetrated, and his having begged pardon, defaced the remembrance of his passion. Alexander, the murderer of Clitus, was less excusable ; since, by violating the rights of nature and friendship, he stifled the principles of an excellent education.

The Czar  
in  
Holland  
and  
England.  
His return.

It was in Holland that Peter became an object worthy of admiration, when, in the garb of a mechanic, known by the name of *Master Peter*, Peterbas, he learnt whatever belonged to ship-building, labouring and living with the workmen. He likewise studied anatomy, natural history, and the useful arts ; esteeming it his greatest honour to practise whatever he wanted to establish in his own dominions. He went to perfect himself in England, where he was taught the mathematical proportions to be observed in ship-building, and constructed one, which has been regarded as a model. Having at last attached some chosen men, of every profession, to his service, such as sea-officers, pilots, surgeons, gunners, sailors, and others, he returned by the way of Vienna, either with a view of examining the German discipline, or to transact some political affairs with the emperor Leopold, who was in alliance with him against the Turks. He left Moscow in April 1697, and did not return till September 1698 ; when his presence was become necessary.

Discontent  
of the  
Russians.

A barbarous, ignorant people are more easily provoked than others, at innovations which contradict the customs and manners of their country. The Russians saw unknown practices introduced by crowds of foreigners, and were provoked at the sovereign for having absented himself to acquire knowledge, and sending his



subjects into other countries for improvement. He was taxed with impiety, for having granted permission to the English to sell tobacco in Russia ; for the use of tobacco was prohibited by the priests as sinful ; which last motive particularly roused the minds of the malecontents. They resolved to place the princess Sophia upon the throne ; and the Strelitz, who were dispersed towards Lithuania, having assembled, revolted, and marched to Moscow ; where they were met by the new regular troops commanded by Shein, a Prussian, and Gordon a Scotchman, and were totally defeated, which increased their hatred of foreigners.

Happily, the Czar appeared when he was least expected. His disposition was cruel ; he thought severity was necessary upon this occasion, and commanded numbers to be put to death. Two thousand of the Strelitz were sacrificed, the greatest part of the others confined at the extremity of the empire, and the remainder formed into separate regiments, from whom no dangerous attempts were apprehended. ' Osman, the Sultan of the Turks,' says M. de Voltaire, ' was, in the same age, deposed and murdered, for having only given room to the Janisaries to suspect that he intended to lessen their number. Peter, having taken his measures better, was more fortunate.' What is it of which a vigorous government is not capable, when it prepares for the execution of its designs with prudence ?

Then it was that a general reformation began, not only in the army, but likewise in the administration, the manners, the customs, and also in the church. It could only be attempted

This  
dangerous  
militia  
abolished.

A  
general  
reformation.

by an absolute prince; and, in order to the execution, all the despotism of the czar was applied. By it he at least laid the foundation of the real grandeur of the empire, and, we may add, the happiness of the Russians; if a people, by becoming civilized, can be truly happy without being free. Le Fort died; but this loss did not alter the plan of reformation. As the dislike to foreigners was one of the great obstructions to the designs of the czar, he thought it necessary to abolish the external marks by which they were distinguished from his subjects, who wore their beards and clothes long. His example was sufficient to effect it at court, but the people were so obstinate that it was necessary to employ violence. A tax was laid upon the refractory, and the clothes and beards of those who refused to pay were cut. According to the writer of the czar's history, this was executed with an air of gaiety which prevented seditions, though undoubtedly there was enough to occasion them; but, probably, fear had a greater effect than a dissembled gaiety. Besides, the bulk of the people still preserve their old dress.

Patriarch  
abolished.

Peter had experienced how dangerous the clergy become by their prejudices and cabals when they acquire too great power. The patriarch being dead, that great dignity was suppressed, and the revenue added to the crown, the church receiving its laws from Peter, who kept it in constant subjection. Being desirous to lessen the number of monks, which he thought was the more hurtful to the state as the empire wanted inhabitants, he forbid their being admitted into the cloister before the age

of fifty. If this law had continued, it had undoubtedly put an end to the monastic life, which has always had zealous defenders.

The beginning of the year was fixed at the first of January, instead of the first of September; the use of paper for writing was commanded; the custom of marrying, without the parties having seen each other, was wisely abolished; and these were reformatiOther  
reformations effected by the czar. A social spirit was diffused with the increase of knowledge, which time alone could bring to perfection.

When this prince was employing himself in the docks of Sardam in Holland to learn the art of constructing and navigating ships, he undoubtedly conceived the design of creating a powerful navy, which might make him respected in Europe, and attract commerce into his dominions: but the port of Archangel, upon the White Sea, coming from which it is necessary to double Lapland and Norway, was badly situated for his purpose, since, for seven months in the year, it is inaccessible. The sea of Azoph and the Caspian were still more inconvenient, from their distance, though, in other respects, advantageous. It was therefore essentially necessary to extend his empire towards the Baltic. If he was actuated by ambition to seize from Sweden what she possessed on that coast, it was the ambition of a vast genius, which does not indulge itself in chimeras.

By the treaty of Carlowitz with the Turk in 1699, Peter kept the important conquest of Azoph, but he had only obtained a truce of two years; however, he got it prolonged to

twenty, and dedicated all his attention to the aggrandizement of his empire on the side of Europe. We shall now see him engaged with another Alexander.

## CHAPTER IV.

RISE OF CHARLES XII. KING OF SWEDEN. HE TRIUMPHS OVER ALL HIS ENEMIES, AND DETHRONES AUGUSTUS KING OF POLAND.

AT the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, in 1697, his son Charles XII. was only fifteen years of age, and seemed incapable of acquiring reputation on the throne; however, some circumstances which happened while he was very young, gave indications of heroic qualities. Though obstinate and averse from study, yet, when it was recommended as a means of acquiring glory, he got the better of his reluctance. He was particularly fond of reading Quintus Curtius; and one day, when his preceptor asked him what he thought of Alexander? he replied, *I think I could wish to resemble him. But he only lived to the age of thirty-two,* added the preceptor. *Is not that enough when a man has conquered kingdoms?* This reply of the young prince was the occasion of his father's saying that he would exceed the great Gustavus. When he ascended the throne, and was freed from the regency of his mother, all hopes of him were dispelled; he gave no ap-  
Youth  
of  
Charles XII.

plication, and showed he was of an impetuous, haughty temper ; but danger very soon unveiled his genius and disposition. Three powerful enemies joined in a league to oppress him ; and in that very instant he showed himself a great man. Let us trace from its source a war of eighteen years, which laid waste the north, at the very time the southern countries of Europe were in a flame about the Spanish succession.

Charles XI.  
violated  
the  
privileges  
of the  
Livonians.

Thousands of examples prove that despotism is contrary to the true interest of sovereigns ; of which the following is a very remarkable instance. On the south side of the Gulf of Finland, Sweden had got possession of Estonia and Livonia ; an acquisition which was confirmed by the treaty of Oliva. She left the Livonians their privileges ; for new subjects are at first treated with gentleness, but, according to the practice of despots, Charles XI. violated them when he thought it was for his advantage. Patkul, at the head of a deputation from Livonia, having claimed the rights of his country with a bold freedom, was condemned to suffer death ; but he escaped, breathing indignation and revenge. After the death of that monarch, he found no difficulty to persuade the king of Poland, then Augustus, elector of Saxony, and afterwards the czar Peter, that the weakness of the young king Charles XII. presented a valuable opportunity of recovering from Sweden those provinces which they had formerly lost.

Grounds  
of  
the war  
with  
Denmark.

Frederic IV. king of Denmark, was no less inclined to take advantage of contingencies. The ancient convention of Christian III. with his brother Adolphus, with regard to the duchies of Holstein Gottorp and Sleswick, which

the kings of Denmark and the duke of Holstein ought to possess in common, was an inexhaustible source of disputes between the two branches. The duke of Holstein, the brother-in-law of Charles, being attacked by Frederic, had gone to Stockholm, and Sweden was already threatened by the arms of Denmark.

It was deliberated in council, what means should be employed to avert so many dangers ; and some of the council proposing to try negotiation ; *I am resolved*, said the young king, *never to carry on an unjust war, and never to finish a just one until I have ruined my enemies. I shall attack the first who declares against me, and, by defeating him, I hope to deter the rest.* He instantly gave orders to prepare for war, changed his manner of living, reduced himself to the simplest dress, to the most frugal and common diet, renouncing all pleasures, and dedicating his life to fatigue and dangers.

Resolution  
of  
young  
Charles.

The king of Denmark had attacked Holstein, the king of Poland Livonia, and the Russians poured upon Ingria, a neighbouring province likewise belonging to Sweden. Charles XII. having embarked, very soon landed on the island of Zealand, where Copenhagen is situated, and made that capital tremble. Frederic made haste to conclude a peace, by indemnifying the duke of Holstein. This first war was at an end in six weeks. Having, for the first time, heard the whistling of balls, which were fired at him, Charles said, *Well, for the future this shall be my music.* He accustomed himself to it but too much ; and that irresistible passion for war was seen to spring up, which nothing could disarm.

1701.  
Frederic IV.  
forced to  
accept  
a peace.

The Russians  
defeated  
at  
Narva.

Augustus, king of Poland, had already raised the siege of Riga, the capital of Livonia; when Charles, impatient to be revenged of the czar, whom he with reason accused of having violated recent treaties of peace, hastened into Ingria, in the month of September, at the head of about nine thousand men. The Russian army, of about sixty thousand, had laid siege to Narva; when, taking advantage of a heavy snow, which the wind blew in their faces, he attacked them, and forced their intrenchments. Being seized with a panic, amidst the confusion principally occasioned by a want of discipline, thirty thousand men surrendered prisoners to a small number of Swedes: the artillery, consisting of forty-five pieces of cannon, their camp, baggage, and every thing, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Such was the first campaign of a king of seventeen.

The czar  
not  
discouraged.

While the Russians offered up lamentations to their patron Saint Nicholas, and repeated an absurd prayer, composed by a bishop, in which the Swedes were represented as execrable sorcerers, the czar was busily employed to repair his misfortune. Far from being disheartened, he was sensible that the excellent discipline of the enemy, and even their victories, would contribute to form his troops. *They will long continue superior to us*, said he, *but they will teach us at last to conquer*. Peter made new preparations, and even the bells of Moscow were melted into cannon; the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga were covered with half-galleys to fight the ships of Sweden; and all these works were directed by the prince, who gradually reaped the fruit of his application. The campaigns of 1701 and



1702 were a mixture of defeat and success, both upon land and upon the lakes ; but a victory which was gained by general Sheremetow, was followed by the taking of Marienburg, a small town on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. It was at this place that a young woman of Livonia, called Catharine, was made prisoner, who, from captivity, ascended the throne, succeeded the czar, and worthily supplied his place.

Catharine  
taken  
prisoner.

Noteburg, at present Shlusselburg (the key-town), a strong place situated on an island in the lake of Ladoga, and which may be called the key of Finland and Ingria, could not resist the efforts of the Russians, who mounted three breaches when they gave the assault : there scarcely remained a hundred Swedes capable of service, yet they would not capitulate till they had proved the place could no longer be defended. By their ancient discipline they accomplished wonders. Mentzikow, who had been a pastry-cook in his youth, but at this time was the favourite of the czar, decorated with the title of prince, and, by his abilities and services, worthy of favour, was appointed governor of this new conquest. His success was a motive for inspiring emulation and jealousy, and it was of great importance to prefer men who were born to perform noble actions.

Important  
conquest  
of the  
Russians.

The king of Sweden, who was always victorious, had, in the mean time, reduced Courland, crossed Lithuania, and penetrated into the heart of Poland, where he wanted to dethrone Augustus, and afterwards to fall with his whole force upon Russia. Peter only executed his designs with the greater ardour ; and, while he was employed in carrying on the war, and send-

The  
foundation  
of  
Petersburg.

ing aid to his ally, laid the foundation of Petersburg, at the bottom of the Gulf of Finland; in a marshy country situated upon the Newa, which joins the lake of Ladoga. An infinite number of obstacles was surmounted in the execution of this undertaking; and, at the end of five months, a Dutch vessel came to carry on a trade at Petersburg, which then only consisted of two brick houses and some cottages. This flourishing town was very soon secured, by erecting the fort of Kronslot.

1703.

Taking of  
Narva;  
conquest of  
Ingria.

In 1704, the czar, in person, laid siege to Narva, and took it by assault, by this means wiping away the stain of the famous defeat of his troops by Charles XII.; and, what did him still greater honour, he endeavoured to stop the brutal fury of his soldiers, which it is so difficult to restrain after an assault, while they are intoxicated with success. Two of them, who disobeyed his orders, he killed with his own hands; and, laying his sword afterwards upon the table of the town-house, *This sword*, said he to the conquered, *is stained with the blood of my own soldiers, which I spilt for your preservation.* Too often cruel, in this instance he did homage to humanity. All Ingria submitted to the yoke, and prince Mentzikow was appointed governor. Peter had lately been lieutenant of bombardiers under his command.

Let us rapidly follow the Swedish hero, who gave law to Poland, dethroned Augustus, caused another king to be chosen, and who seemed to fight with no other intention than to humble his enemies, without intending to profit by his victories.

In a state so badly constituted as Poland, where the people are slaves, and cruelly oppressed ; where the provinces, though fertile, are excessively poor ; where an independent nobility free themselves from almost every obligation ; where the deliberations of the diets are defeated by the opposition of one of the nobles ; where the most important affairs are decided by the sword ; where seditious confederacies tear in pieces the republic, upon pretence of maintaining the laws ; where the authority of an elective king constantly gives umbrage to the licentiousness, rather than to the liberty of the nobles ; where the malecontents have always to oppose to him the *pacta conventa*, which he swears at his consecration to observe, and dispenses his subjects from their obedience, if he dares to violate them ; where the country is exposed, from a persuasion that fortresses would only serve to keep them in subjection ; where civil order and military discipline are equally unknown ; in a word, where all the abuses of the ancient Gothic government subsist, with this difference, that the body of the people are regarded as nothing, and a corrupt nobility commonly sell their suffrages : in such a miserable republic, which nature seemed to intend for a flourishing state, it was almost impossible for Augustus to resist Charles of Sweden.

Picture  
of Poland.

Being accustomed to absolute government in Saxony, he carried principles and ideas into Poland little suited to the genius of the nation. The Poles did not approve of the scheme of conquering Livonia, as they foresaw that such a conquest would make him more formidable to themselves. They loudly exclaimed against a

Augustus  
exposed  
to  
cabals in that  
country.

war undertaken without their consent, and the party who at first opposed his election, already began to form cabals. Cardinal Radjouski, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, all-powerful from his dignity, and equally dangerous from his artifices, secretly meditated a revolution. The generals and the great officers of the crown, though indebted to the king for their employments, were scarcely dependent upon him, because, though he had the right of appointment, he could not displace them. Augustus, having nobody upon whom he could depend but his Saxons, and pursued by a dreadful persevering conqueror, was reduced to the greatest extremity. The important details which I am obliged to suppress, should be read in the history of Charles XII.

Charles  
makes  
himself  
master of  
Poland.

Charles having made himself master of Warsaw in 1702, declared that he would not consent to a peace till another king was chosen. Augustus was then at Cracow ; and being resolved to come to action, was defeated at Clissaw by an army only half his number. Cracow was taken ; a Saxon general was defeated the next year ; and Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, free cities by their privileges, were obliged to pay a ransom for having made resistance. The primate, who had hitherto preserved the mask of fidelity, declared against the king at the assembly of Warsaw, and, in 1704, the throne was declared vacant. Upon the refusal of prince Alexander Sobieski, one of the sons of the famous king of that name, Charles caused the election to fall upon Stanislaus Leczinski, a palatine of Posnania, and treasurer of the crown,

Election  
of  
Stanislaus  
Leczinski.

a young nobleman in whom he found several features of his own character.

The czar did not abandon Augustus ; but, at a conference which they had at Grodno in Lithuania, they formed a new plan of operations. Sixty thousand Russians dispersed in Poland, only served to lay waste the country, and were every where defeated in small parties by the Swedes. Schullenburg, an able Saxon general, was defeated and put to flight at the battle of Franstadt in 1706, by general Renchild, with an army greatly inferior ; when fear did more than the arms of the enemy, and every thing was decided almost in a moment. Charles very soon made himself master of Saxony, which he laid under heavy contributions, but maintained that rigorous discipline which was the principal source of his victories.

The Swedes  
defeat  
the Russians  
and  
Saxons.

Augustus being driven to despair, secretly sued for peace ; and the conditions prescribed by Charles were, that he should renounce his crown, acknowledge Stanislaus, and deliver up Patkul. That Livonian was in the service of Russia, and had been sent by the czar to the king of Poland in quality of general and ambassador. During the negociation, prince Mentzikow, from whom Augustus carefully concealed every thing, almost obliged him to attack a Swedish general at Kalisk. The Russians made the attack, and gained the victory, which was the first time of their defeating the Swedes in a regular engagement ; however, Augustus shamefully submitted to the terms prescribed by Charles, and signed a treaty without being able to procure better terms than the first. He was even obliged to write a complimentary letter to

Augustus  
negociates  
privately.

Death  
of Patkul.

Stanislaus ; and Patkul, who was already confined upon an unjust suspicion, was given up to the king of Sweden, who, notwithstanding the complaints of the czar, caused the minister of that great prince to be broken upon the wheel. The sentence gave to Charles the title of Most Clement Prince. *What clemency!* exclaimed Patkul. Hearing himself condemned as a traitor to his country, *Alas!* added he, *I have served it but too well.* We here see to what degree of injustice despotism can hurry even great souls.

Embassy  
to  
Charles XII.

This peace, which was concluded in the camp of Altrenstat, near Leipsic, completed the fame of Charles XII.; and, while there, he received a crowd of ambassadors. The war which was kindled against France and Spain set all Europe in commotion, and every power was solicitous of his alliance. It was suspected that he was inclined to join Louis XIV., though in 1700 he had promised a neutrality. The duke of Marlborough, who was as great a negociator as general, came to sound his intentions; and, having soon discovered his design of carrying the war into Russia, left him without having made any proposals. The haughty and fortunate emperor Joseph yielded in several points which were required of him by the king of Sweden before he quitted Germany; particularly in favour of the Protestants of Silesia.

His  
visit to  
Augustus.

In 1707 Saxony was delivered from the Swedes, who set out from that country loaded with plunder. Their hero, who made sport of every kind of danger, took a fancy, in passing, to pay a visit to Augustus. He hurried on before his army with some general officers, and,

under a borrowed name, presented himself at the gate of Dresden. He entered, in his boots, the apartment of the king whom he had reduced to his electorate ; and, having breakfasted with him, visited the fortifications, and then joined his army, who were uneasy at his absence. *I trusted,* said he, *to my good fortune.*

## CHAPTER V.

CHARLES XII. DEFEATED AT PULTAWA, FLIES INTO TURKEY. THE CAMPAIGN OF PRUTH FATAL TO THE CZAR. HIS PEACE WITH THE TURKS. CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN THE NORTH.

Obstinacy  
of  
Charles XII.  
against  
the  
czar.

THE czar was very near causing an election of a third king of Poland : it was thought of in a diet held at Lublin ; and some palatins were proposed, which would have been a new source of destruction and horrors for this ruined republic. However, the minister of France in Saxony endeavoured to reconcile the Swedes and Russians. Charles bluntly declared that he would treat with the czar in Moscow ; and his presumption gave room for that excellent expression of Peter the Great ; *My brother Charles wants to play the part of Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius*. Here is the period in which a change of fortune befel that hero, who, from his faults and obstinacy, was more deserving of censure than of admiration for his heroism.

1708.  
He  
enters  
the  
Ukraine.

At the head of forty-five thousand men he entered Lithuania, where the czar then was ; and, having taken Grodno from him, advanced towards the Dnieper, or Borysthene, when he



defeated a great body of Russians advantageously entrenched behind a torrent and morass at Holozin. He found himself upon the road to Moscow ; but, instead of pursuing it, having crossed the Dnieper, he turned to the south, and plunged into the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, which he expected soon to subdue, and then to fall upon the capital of Russia. The old Mazeppa, hetman or chief of the Cossacks, who had betrayed his sovereign the czar, inspired the king of Sweden with this fatal resolution, by promising to join him with an army, and to find him both provisions and money ; promises which prudence should have weighed, but were trusted without examination.

Exposed to imminent dangers, he marched towards the Desna, which empties itself into the Dnieper, the place where Mazeppa was to have joined him ; but his attempts to engage the Cossacks in rebellion were fruitless. He did not appear, and provisions began to fail ; but general Lewenhaupt was advancing with sixteen thousand men, and all sorts of provisions, from Livonia ; yet this great resource soon vanished ; for Peter followed the general beyond the Dnieper, attacked him three following days, and at length defeated him. The Swedes lost above eight thousand men, all their cannon and convoy. In the heat of the action, the czar observing some of his army giving way, gave orders to fire upon the fugitives, and even upon himself, if he retired.

Being informed of Mazeppa's treachery, he sent Mentzikow into the Ukraine ; when Bathurin the capital, the magazines and money of the hetman were taken, and himself hanged

Mazeppa  
could  
not prevail  
with  
the Cossacks  
to revolt.

Peter  
revenge  
himself  
of  
Mazeppa.

in effigy. All his promises terminated in joining Charles with two or three thousand men, the rest of the Cossacks refusing to follow him.

Charles  
continues his  
route.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Lewenhaupt, who brought only the wreck of his army, and the excessive cold, which killed near two thousand Swedes on one march, the king of Sweden, destitute of provisions, continued his route through an unknown country, incessantly exposed to the attacks of the enemy, and crossed the whole Ukraine in the depth of winter 1709. Having arrived before Pultawa, he laid siege to that town, from whence he expected to pursue his march to Moscow, and to overturn the throne of the czar.

Battle  
of  
Pultawa.

The famous battle of Pultawa, in which both the monarchs equally signalized their courage and abilities, at last put an end to all his hopes. Charles having been wounded some days before, was carried about in a litter, which was beaten in pieces by a cannon shot during the action. Peter, like him, was found in the midst of the hottest fire; and an engagement which lasted only two hours, cost the lives of nine thousand Swedes. Fourteen thousand were taken prisoners, among which number was the first minister Count Piper, whose prudent counsels had not always been followed, Renschild, Lewenhaupt, and other generals. The Russians lost only about thirteen hundred men. 'What is most important in this battle,' says the celebrated historian of the czar, 'is, that of all those which have stained the earth with blood, it is the single one which, instead of occasioning only destruction, has contributed to the happiness of the human race, by enabling

the czar to civilize a great part of the earth.' It is at least certain, that the greatness of Russia depended upon the life of one man; we shall see whether proper methods have been taken for its civilization.

This formidable monarch Charles XII., compelled to fly, and even on horseback, though not able to mount one during the action, will appear, from this time, only an illustrious example of the vicissitudes of fortune, or rather, of the evils men bring upon themselves who make a bad use of prosperity. Though his strength was exhausted, he crossed the Dnieper and then the Bogh, the ancient Hypanis. He sought an asylum in Turkey, without deigning to write to the grand-vizir. His unconquerable haughtiness and obstinacy always prevented him from regulating his conduct by circumstances.

His flight  
into  
Turkey.

Peter, who was incomparably more prudent, thought of profiting by the victory; and having invited the principal Swedish prisoners to his table, said to them, *I drink to the healths of my masters in the art of war*; an expression equally honourable for him and for them. He continued to show that their lessons had rendered him worthy of being their conqueror. He made haste to restore Augustus to the throne of Poland, and entered into a league with that prince, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia. Appearing in quality of a major-general, he made a triumphal entry into Moscow; a ceremony which must have contributed greatly to animate the Russians. He then set out to take Wibourg, the capital of Karelia in Finland, and made

The czar  
pro-  
fited by the  
victory.

1710.  
Conquest of  
Karelia  
and  
Livonia.

himself master of Riga, the capital of Livonia. Both these provinces fell under his dominion.

Instance  
of  
despotism  
in  
Charles.

A Swedish general still had eleven thousand men in Pomerania ; but the regency of Stockholm, not knowing whether the king was dead or alive, signed a neutrality for these troops. When Charles heard of this, he wrote to the senate, that *he would send one of his boots to govern them.* He thought he commanded slaves.

Intrigues  
at  
Constanti-  
nople in his  
favour.

With his train of eighteen hundred men he encamped near Bender, and was generously treated by the court of Constantinople ; but he wanted that they should arm in his favour, and his agents employed as much address in their intrigues there, as his demeanour was baughty in his camp. A grand vizir who disapproved his designs, was disgraced ; another, who imagined there was no lawful cause for going to war, was likewise dismissed, for reasons little known. A third determined the sultan Achmet III. to take up arms. The khan of the Crim Tartars had great influence in this resolution. Being in the vicinity of Azoph, he had every thing to dread from the Russians ; and, as a vassal of the Porte, he had the same interests.

The czar's  
ambassador  
arrested.

When the sultan had determined to go to war, the divan, the council of the grand signor, caused the ambassador of the czar to be arrested. This odious practice among the Turks is founded upon their contempt of the Christians ; the law of nations being the more indifferent in their eyes, as they have no ambassador in ordinary residing at other courts. A very extraordinary thing is, that a little be-

fore this, the czar had received the same affront in London in time of profound peace, his ambassador being imprisoned for debt at the suit of a merchant ; but as the English laws did not decree that an offence of this nature, which could not be easily foreseen, was to be punished with death, all the satisfaction he could obtain was, that the authors of the insult were declared criminal, the parliament confirmed the privileges of foreign ministers, and queen Anne made a formal apology. As to the Turk, the insult remained unpunished, if he was not defeated.

Peter hastened his preparations ; but, before war was begun, he gave an extraordinary example of that strength of mind which rises above prejudices. The young Livonian captive, Catharine, whose elevation I mentioned before, found means to gain his affection and confidence, by a degree of merit rarely to be met with in the highest condition. In 1696 he had divorced his first wife, who was born his subject. It is the custom in Russia for the emperor to assemble a number of beautiful women of his own empire, and to choose a wife from among them, upon which occasion the nobility are not entitled to any preference. However surprising such a custom, which is very ancient in the East, may appear in our eyes, it may be questioned if that of the European princes is much better ; especially when we see so many wars and revolutions in consequence of their marriages with foreign princesses. The czar had at last privately married Catharine in 1707, and declared his marriage the very day he began his march against the Turks. Catharine

Catharine,  
Peter's  
second wife.

Custom of  
the  
Czars to  
marry  
one of their  
subjects.

accompanied him wherever he went, shared with him the same fatigues and dangers, soothed his sorrows, and moderated his transports. But she was now to render him a more important service.

1711.  
Cantemir,  
the  
vaivode,  
deceives  
him.

The same fault of which Charles XII. had been guilty by trusting to the Cossacks, Peter likewise committed by depending upon a revolt which did not take place. Cantemir, the vaivode of Moldavia, gave him deceitful expectations. That province and Walachia, formerly known by the name of Dacia, were dependent on the Turks, and governed by petty princes or vaivodes, who were Christians nominated by the Grand Signor. So true it is, as we formerly mentioned, that a political toleration is admitted into the Mahometan system. Notwithstanding the mutual hatred between Turks and Christians, the last ought to be afraid to rebel, if they are not very certain of success. The intrigues of Cantemir to gain the other vaivode, only occasioned a slight agitation. Both provinces remained in submission, and the czar, who was persuaded that he should find both provisions and troops, advanced too rashly, and found himself in a most dangerous situation.

Campaign  
of  
Pruth.

He passed the Niester, the river upon which Bender is situated, and penetrated into Moldavia as far as Jassi upon the Pruth, a river which runs into the Danube. The Ottoman army, which is said to have amounted to near two hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the Tartars, passed the Pruth, surrounded the Czar, cut off the communication between him and a considerable reinforcement which he expected, and he had only about forty thousand

to oppose to this dreadful multitude. The Russians were already so well disciplined, that their rear-guard sustained an action of three hours against the Turks, whom they repulsed, after having killed seven thousand of their men; but the want of provisions, or the superiority of the enemy, seemed to announce an irremediable disaster.

Distracted with disquiet to such a degree as to occasion convulsions, the Czar commanded that no person should enter his tent ; but, happily, Catharine had courage to disobey these orders ; she advised and persuaded him to negotiate with the grand vizir, collected whatever she could for the presents, which, according to the Oriental custom, must be made before they enter upon business, chose the envoy, and made the necessary dispositions. While an answer was expected, the generals and ministers declared they were of opinion, that the army ought rather to fight their way through the enemy than surrender.

*Catharine persuaded the Czar to negotiate.*

Whether it proceeded from a dislike to the war, or from weakness, or motives of prudence, for the reproach of corruption sounds badly in the mouths of the Swedes, the vizir granted a peace, upon condition that the czar restored Azoph, demolished the port of Tangarok upon the sea of Azoph, with the fortresses which were built on that side, and did not disturb the king of Sweden, if he returned to his own dominions.

*Treaty of Falken with the grand vizir.*

Charles, enraged at this new treaty, went to find the grand vizir, whom he loaded with every reproach, and with his spur tore the robe of that minister. He intrigued more than ever

*Proceedings of the king of Sweden.*

by his agents at Constantinople, and, though the vizir was disgraced, drew upon himself an order to depart from Turkey ; but he treated the order with contempt, and, in his little camp at Bender, ventured to sustain a siege against an army, in the year 1713 ; an attempt which might be taken for an adventure of Don Quixote, if it were possible to call it in question.

He loses  
his  
possessions  
in  
Germany.

The loss of his dominions in Germany\* was the consequence of his obstinacy. He sent orders constantly to Sweden to fight, but to give up nothing ; and, though his kingdom was drained both of men and money, they durst not disobey him. They sacrificed and suffered every thing, after the example of a hero, with whose unfortunate situation and patience they were not unacquainted. General Steenbock, who had vanquished the Danes after the defeat at Pultawa, gained another victory in Pomerania in 1712, laid Altona in ashes, but, however, was obliged, very soon after, to surrender himself with his small army, prisoners. Without dwelling upon the details, we shall only observe, that, in 1713, Bremen, Verden, Stettin, and a part of Pomerania, were in the hands of the enemy, and the czar had taken possession of the coast of Finland. Stanislaus, desirous to renounce the crown of Poland, in order to facilitate a peace, went into Turkey, in hopes of prevailing with the obstinate Charles, and both were prisoners with the Turks. Sweden could no longer resist. The czar, king Augustus, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, having entered into an alliance, wrested from her all the conquests formerly gained by Gustavus Adolphus.

Stanislaus  
in  
Turkey.



If Peter the Great regretted Azoph, and the empire of the Black Sea, which he had lost to the Turks by the treaty of Falksen, he was made full amends by his success upon the Baltic, where it was of the greatest consequence to render himself respectable. He seized the isle of Aland, in the neighbourhood of Sweden, where he gained a battle by sea over the Swedes, and took their admiral, Renschild, prisoner. He next made himself master of Finland, and, more than ever covered with glory, made a triumphal entry into Petersburg, amidst the monuments of his own labours. After the ceremony, he pronounced a discourse, of which M. de Voltaire gives the substance.

1714.  
Success of  
the  
Czar on the  
Baltic.

‘ Is there any of you, my brethren, who thought, twenty years ago, that we should have fought in the Baltic on board ships constructed by yourselves, and that we should have acquired settlements in these countries, which we have conquered by our perseverance and courage? . . . The ancient abode of the sciences has been placed in Greece; they afterwards fixed in Italy, from whence they made their way into every country in Europe. It is now our turn, if you will second my views by adding application to obedience. Arts circulate in the world like the blood in the human body, and perhaps they will fix their empire among us, *to return into Greece*, their ancient country. I dare hope, that, by our labours and solid glory, we shall one day eclipse the most civilized nations.’ This discourse is worthy of the creative genius who prepared so important a revolution. In saying, *to return into Greece*, did he imagine that the Russians would one day carry

Discourse  
which  
he  
pronounced  
at Peters-  
burg.

the arts and sciences thither? However bold the prediction, can it be taxed with being absolutely chimerical?

Order  
of Saint  
Catharine.

The order of Saint Catharine was instituted by the czar, in honour of his spouse, whom he had solemnly acknowledged; a new proof of the gratitude with which he was penetrated by a sense of the importance of her services.

## CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES XII. RETURNS INTO HIS OWN DOMINIONS. IN-  
TRIGUES OF THE BARON DE GORTZ. DEATH OF THE  
KING, AND REVOLUTION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF SWE-  
DEN. PEACE OF THE NORTH.

IN the battle of Bender, the Turks had spared Charles XII. whom they might have easily killed, and who killed a number of them with his own hand. He was kept prisoner at Demotica, near Adrianople. Having lost all hope of arming the Ottoman empire in his favour, he at last desired leave to depart. The new grand vizir, for there was no end to the revolutions of the seraglio, wished that he should fix the day of his departure. Charles, whose conduct was always in extremes, sent a pompous embassy to take leave, though he could not find the means for this expense but by borrowing money upon the most humiliating conditions. After having remained above five years in Turkey, he set out in the beginning of October, 1714, dismissed his Turkish escort on the frontiers, and, parting from his own people, put on a disguise, in which, with two officers, he made almost the whole tour of Germany, going

Return of  
the  
king of  
Sweden into  
his domi-  
nions.

post either on horseback or in carts, and never stopping. He arrived, the second day of November, at Stralsund in Pomerania, a place of importance on the Baltic, of which the enemy were desirous to get possession.

1715.  
Besieged  
in  
Stralsund.  
His  
retreat.

The Danes, Prussians, and Saxons, laid siege to it the next year, when, as usual, he performed prodigies of valour. The town was bombarded, and a shell penetrating the roof of his house, burst near the apartment where he was then dictating a letter. The secretary having let fall his pen, *Go on*, said he boldly ; *what has the bomb to do with the letter which I am dictating?* The enemy gave the assault at the horn-work, where he repulsed them twice, fighting in the midst of his grenadiers ; but the work being at last carried, he was obliged to yield to the entreaties of his general officers, and retire in a small bark, where two of the men were killed by a cannon-shot from a Danish battery. Stralsund yielded next day, and Wismar was reduced soon after ; so that Charles lost every thing he had in Germany.

New  
preparations  
for war.  
Exactions.

He passed the winter in Carlsroon, without having any inclination to show himself in his capital, after an absence of fifteen years. He ordered new preparations for continuing the war ; the young people were enrolled, and the state was completely ruined, by laying on every imaginable impost. ' The people, oppressed with such exactions,' says M. de Voltaire, ' would have revolted under any other king. But the most wretched peasant of Sweden knew, that his master lived a harder and more frugal life than himself ; and therefore all, without murmuring, submitted to those rigours which

the king was the first to suffer.' How great then must have been their affection, if they had not reason to impute all their sufferings to him ! The kingdom was in danger, yet Charles attempted to take Norway from Denmark ; and, having invaded that country with an army of twenty thousand men, without having provided for their subsistence, scarcity obliged him immediately to return.

In the mean time, the Baron de Gortz, a native of Franconia, having become his prime minister, and governing that temper which had been hitherto untractable, contrived some intrigues, which threatened a great revolution. This minister, of a vast genius, active, artful, insinuating, and audacious, capable of assuming all kinds of forms, and employing every means, intended to conclude a peace and alliance with the czar, and then to destroy the other enemies of Sweden. He principally directed his views against George I., king of England, elector of Hanover, who had purchased Bremen and Verden, with their dependencies, from the king of Denmark. He not only intended to deprive him of those provinces, but to set the Pretender on the throne of England ; and Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, of a character similar to that of Gortz, entered into his views. The czar, to whom all his conquests were to be abandoned likewise joined in it ; and, having relaxed the vigour of the war, made a journey into France.

Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister at the court of London, entered into a conspiracy in favour of the Pretender, and Gortz was at the same time in Holland provided with full powers

Intrigues  
of  
the Baron  
de  
Gortz.

1717.  
Two  
ministers  
of  
Sweden  
arrested.

from his master ; but their plot was discovered by intercepted letters. The two ministers were not only seized, but interrogated ; and their confinement, which lasted six months, irritated the resentment of Charles. As soon as Gortz was set at liberty, he hastened to the czar, whose ambition he flattered with the hope of an establishment in Germany ; by which, having become a member of the empire, he might one day aim at the Imperial crown. Peter, at last, fixed upon the isle of Aland for holding a conference.

Copper  
money for  
silver.  
Gortz  
detested in  
Sweden.

At his return into Sweden, the minister, in the pressing necessities of the state, then destitute of money, gave to copper coin the value of silver ; so that a piece of copper of the value of a halfpenny, when stamped in the mint, became current for forty pence. This money, which he was obliged to increase beyond all bounds, because distrusts had prodigiously increased the price of every thing, was very soon universally decried, and excited the hatred of the public against him. The clergy, from whom he exacted a tax, loudly accused him of atheism, and every one either cursed or dreaded him. Charles, perhaps from obstinacy, only gave himself up the more to his counsels, leaving the cares of government in his hands, and trusting the negotiations with Russia entirely to his management.

1718.  
Death  
of  
Charles XII.

These negotiations were drawing to a conclusion, when a fatal event broke all their measures. The king of Sweden had repassed into Norway, of which he was desirous to make a conquest, that he might humble Frederic IV., king of Denmark, who had enriched himself

with his spoils. He laid siege to Fredericshall in the month of December, setting at defiance the cold, which even his soldiers could scarcely endure, and was killed with a ball from a culverin at the age of thirty-six.

His French historian says, with much reason, 'He carried all the virtues of a hero to that excess which is as dangerous as the opposite vices. His steadiness, changing into obstinacy, was the cause of his misfortune in the Ukraine, and kept him five years in Turkey; his liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden; his courage, carried to rashness, occasioned his death; his justice has sometimes been cruel; and, towards the close of his life, the supporting of his authority approached to tyranny. His great qualities, one of which might have immortalized another prince, were the ruin of his country.... Rigid to others, as well as to himself; not regarding the ease or the lives of his subjects, more than his own; an uncommon, rather than a great man; he was more an object for admiration, than to be imitated. His life ought to teach kings, how much a happy pacific government is superior to so great glory.' Charles XII., according to the same author, deserved to be the chief officer under Peter the Great.

Opinion  
of  
Voltaire  
on  
that hero.

Sweden undoubtedly gained by the death of that hero, who had sacrificed her to his chimerical ideas of glory. She recovered her invaluable liberty, and established a new form of government, which she thought proper to confirm without foreseeing the abuses. This important revolution deserves a particular attention. The king dying without children, and

The crown  
becomes  
elective.

his two sisters having been married, the one to the duke of Holstein, whose dominions were in the possession of the king of Denmark, the other to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; the crown again became elective, according to a law made in the year 1604, and renewed at several diets, which bears, *that the daughter of a king or a prince, who is looked upon as capable of succeeding to the crown, ought to be in celibacy, and not to marry without the consent and approbation of the states of the kingdom.* Here, then, was the time to provide for the public weal.

Arbitrary  
power  
abolished.

They were sensible of the miseries that had been produced by the excessive power given to Charles XI., especially under his son, who, however, was loved and respected by the nation as a great man; but they would not again expose themselves to the despotism of another prince. They said, 'What would a vicious monarch have done, if Charles XII. made us wretched?' His sister, Ulrica-Eleanora, the wife of the landgrave, having been raised to the throne by the diet in the beginning of the year 1719, yielded to the desire, or rather the will, of the Swedes. They thanked her for *the just and reasonable dislike she testified for arbitrary and absolute power*; they were determined to abolish that power, and they settled a plan of government.

Form of  
the  
Swedish  
government.

The following was the form prescribed by the laws then made, or in part renewed, and to which the landgrave, become king, Frederic I., by the recommendation of his wife, was obliged to submit. The legislative authority rests in the diet. The executive power is properly in the senate, composed of sixteen persons, where the



king presides, and has only the casting vote in certain cases. It is the diet which names to vacancies in the senate, by presenting three subjects for the king to choose one. As to the principal employments, both civil and military, they were named by the senate from the king's recommendation. The diet to be held every three years in the month of January. If they were not assembled at the usual time, every thing done in the interval to be null. They could not declare war without the king's consent. When assembled, it can neither conclude peace, truce, nor alliance, without his consent. All laws and ordinances to be published in the name of the king; but if he absents himself, or delays his signature too long, that of the senate may supply the want of his. On ascending the throne, he takes the oath before the diet, and is declared an enemy of the state, and deprived of the throne, in case he violate the *engagements* into which they make him enter. Beside the deputies of the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses in the national assembly, the peasants likewise have theirs. The commons choose one of that order from every district, and the deputy must not have belonged to any other order. A Swedish peasant is truly a member of the state; he cannot be despised, and it would be dangerous to oppress him; he knows and enjoys his rights.

Some remarkable laws have sprung from this constitution. They impress the minds of princes with those sentiments which are most necessary to be inculcated on them; they show them that they are only men, *equally weak with the rest of the species*. They watch over their education,

Laws  
concerning  
the  
education  
of  
princes.

and render the effects durable. According to them, the princes *ought frequently to enter into the cottages of the peasants, that they may see the situation of the poor with their own eyes. Their dress should be modest and their table frugal, that they may set an example of economy to their subjects, which is very useful in a country that is poor, but free.* They condemn pomp and parade as an abuse, by means of which *the subjects contract a servile habit, and become accustomed to the yoke.* They positively proscribe luxury as a mortal poison in a state destitute of riches, where liberty is the foundation of the public happiness. In a word, they seem to have cured that warlike people of the fatal passion for conquest; but their intestine quarrels have, in a great degree, diminished this advantage.

Advantages  
of  
Sweden.

Sweden, with an hereditary king, seemed to have guarded against the disorders produced by the election of sovereigns, the scourges that accompany despotism, and the inconveniences which spring from a minority, or the incapacity and vices of a monarch. The equipoise of the different powers seemed to promise a most happy government; but that the effect might keep pace with appearances, it was necessary that the Swedes should be exempt from corruption; that private interest should not prevail over the public weal, nor the spirit of party stifle the voice of patriotism; that the senate, though so powerful, be sufficiently moderate not to abuse its authority; and that the royal prerogative, which is so limited, should have at least sufficient influence to restrain faction, and to form a centre of union between the different powers

of the state. But is it possible to hope for so much virtue and prudence in our days? \*

When the new government was established, the system of the baron de Gortz fell in pieces, and that minister paid with his head for the bad counsels he had given Charles XII. They were very sensible of the necessity of having a peace, and it was concluded by different treaties; first, with the king of England, as elector of Hanover, to whom they ceded the duchies of Bremen and Verden for a million of rixdollars; then with the king of Prussia, Frederic-William, who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stettin and the islands of Usedom and Wollin; and, lastly, the same year, 1720, with the king of Denmark, who kept that part of the duchy of Sleswick which was conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, upon condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt.

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\* The revolution which lately happened in Sweden, which was effected by a young king, without any effusion of blood, and with the applause of all the different orders, plainly proves, that the people were dissatisfied with their government. The voice of the nation seems not only to have confirmed the censures of the sovereign, but the hopes which he has given of a happier fate. The following are the most memorable passages of his address to the states, the 21st August 1772: 'It is in this manner that liberty, the most valuable right of the human race, has been changed into an aristocratical despotism, in the hand of a prevailing party, who were very soon overturned by their opponents, and they, in their turn, were subdued by a few individuals. They trembled at the approach of a diet . . . . . My sole purpose is to reestablish true liberty, which is the only means, my dear subjects, to make you truly happy . . . . . To attain so desirable an object, the kingdom must be governed by an invariable law, whose clear and precise letter leaves no room for false interpretations; which not only binds the king, but likewise the states; which can neither be abrogated nor changed, without the free consent both of the king and the states; which gives leave to a king, anxious for the good of his kingdom, to consult with the states, without their making it a reason for being alarmed or afraid; which, in a word, unites the king and the states in the same interest, the universal good of their common country,' &c.

The  
czar retains  
his  
conquests.  
His title  
of  
Emperor.

The war with Russia was continued, and George I. sent an English squadron, as he had promised, to the assistance of Sweden ; but this squadron remained inactive, or did nothing of consequence. The Russians, on the contrary, took some Swedish frigates, and, in a descent, burnt forty villages. A new negociation was opened at Nystad in Finland, where the czar dictated the conditions of the peace, which was concluded in 1721, when he kept the provinces which he had conquered, viz. Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Karelia, and a part of Finland. His subjects then decreed to him the title of *Emperor* ; a title which has been acknowledged by the powers of Europe, but was very unnecessary to his glory.

## CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT. HIS ESTABLISHMENTS AND LAWS. STATE OF RUSSIA TO THE REIGN OF CATHARINE II.

THAT conqueror and legislator, whose travels, enterprises, and success, surpass those of Charlemagne, put an end to his career by an expedition into Persia. The sophy Hussein was attacked by rebels, who surprised the town of Shamachie, near the Caspian, where the Russians carried on a considerable trade. All the inhabitants were plundered and massacred; and Peter, not being able to procure satisfaction, carried the war into that country; not to aggrandize himself without deriving some real advantage, but to secure the empire of the Caspian, and to bring the commerce of Persia, and a part of India, into Russia. In 1722 he crossed Mount Caucasus, took Darbent, and returned in triumph to Moscow. The following year, the new sophy, on purpose to secure his protection against the usurper Mahmoud, the murderer of Hussein, ceded to him three provinces,

War  
of the czar  
with  
Persia.

which formed a great part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes. These provinces have been abandoned since that time : an empire already too much extended must certainly suffer by being more enlarged.

His  
son Alexis  
was  
detested.

To complete Peter's happiness, an heir was wanting to whom he might leave the crown. Alexis Petrowitz, whom he had by his first wife, died in a most tragical manner in the year 1718. We shall in this place take notice of some particulars which attended the catastrophe of that unfortunate prince, whose trial made so much noise. His mother bred him up in a blind superstition, which made him detest the innovations of his father ; and some priests, who were equally superstitious, abused his confidence, in order to keep up his prejudices, to which were added the grossest debaucheries. He very soon occasioned the death of his wife, the princess of Brunswick, sister-in-law of the emperor Charles VI., who died of vexation. In one word, he seemed to be born to destroy all the great works of his father.

Reprimands  
and  
advice  
of his father.

The reprimands and threatenings of Peter were all to no purpose. In a letter to him, he said, *Do not depend upon the title of being my only son ; for if I do not spare my own life for the good of my country and the safety of my people, how can I spare you ? I would rather transmit my dominions to a deserving stranger, than to a son who renders himself unworthy.* In another letter, he said, *Correct your faults, and render yourself worthy of the succession, or turn monk.* The son replied, that he would turn monk. The czar gave him six months to consider, and set out

with an intention of visiting France, where he still hoped to procure instruction.

On his arrival at Copenhagen, he was informed that his son saw none but malecontents; he therefore ordered him to come and join him. Alexis pretended to obey, but fled for shelter to the court of Vienna in 1717. However, threatening commands, accompanied with promises of pardon, determined him to return to Russia. He arrived at Moscow in 1718, when Peter, who had got thither before him, caused him to be arrested and solemnly disinherited, when a child, lately born of Catharine, was declared his successor. Not satisfied with this act of severity, he insisted upon Alexis being juridically examined, and commanded him, upon pain of death, to conceal nothing. He was even interrogated upon his thoughts and secret wishes. His confessor, whom he charged with not having disapproved of his wishing the death of his father, was put to the torture. Such proceedings foreboded dreadful resolutions.

Flight  
of Alexis.

His  
trial in  
1718.

The last confession, which was signed by the young prince, bears, 'that he was a bigot from his earliest years; that he had frequented the society of priests and monks, drank with them, and received from them such impressions as made him detest his duty, and even the person of his father; that he wanted to succeed to the throne *in any manner except that which he ought.*'

His  
confession.

In the mean time, eight bishops, and some others of the clergy, who were consulted on this business by the czar, declared, by a writing under their hands, 'that the absolute power established in the empire of Russia is not control-

Decision  
on the  
absolute  
power  
of  
the czar.

lable by subjects, but the whole authority is in the sovereign.'

Condemna-  
tion  
of the young  
prince.

After all, a hundred and forty-four judges having likewise acknowledged that the decision of an affair of this nature depended solely upon the will of the sovereign, unanimously condemned the young prince to suffer death. An English writer says, that in the English parliament, out of an hundred and forty-four judges, not one would have pronounced the least punishment in such a case. This must be, because liberty and despotism see with quite different eyes. According to M. de Voltaire, the czar might cause his son to be put to death for disobedience without consulting any person; and the czarowitz had offended the whole nation, by endeavouring to plunge them again into that state of darkness from whence they had been freed by his father. Does not that very trial prove that they were still in darkness?

His violent  
death.

Alexis, at reading his sentence, fell into convulsions, and died next day, after having begged pardon of the czar, who granted it by a public declaration. The injurious reports which were spread, especially against the czarina on the subject of the death of Alexis, are refuted by the famous writer from whom we have taken the particulars of this history. Peter and Catharine, the next year, 1719, lost that child for whom the throne was destined.

The  
czarina  
in danger.

It appears evident, that the czar intended that he should be succeeded by his wife, whom he caused to be crowned and consecrated in the year 1724; a ceremony unknown among the Russians, and calculated to make the same impression upon the minds of that people as it



had formerly done among us. Catharine, however, could not procure a pardon for one of her ladies of the wardrobe, her favourite, who had been convicted of having received presents, which was strictly prohibited to all persons in office. The czar, provoked by her entreaties, carried his passion so far as to break a Venetian looking-glass. *You see*, said he, *that it needed but a stroke of my hand to reduce that glass to the dust from whence it was taken.* Catharine pacified him by the mildness of her reply: *Well, then, you have broken that which was the greatest ornament of your palace; do you imagine it is the handsomer for what you have done?* But all the favour she could obtain for the lady was, that, instead of eleven, she should receive only five strokes of the knout; a mode of scourging atrociously cruel.

Peter died in 1724 at the age of fifty-three, without having named an heir. The crown might have descended to his daughter, Anne Petrowna, who was married to the duke of Holstein, whom he intended to restore, or to his grandson Peter, the son of the unfortunate Alexis; of whose death we have already given an account, and of his being previously disinherited. Prince Mentzikow, who was always a friend of the empress, prevented the opposite parties, by securing the treasures and the guards, and gaining some of the bishops. He speedily assembled the senators and general officers; and a prelate having declared, that the evening before Catharine's coronation, the czar had signified his intention that she should succeed to the crown, she was that same day pro-

Death  
of the czar.  
Succeeded  
by  
Catharine.

claimed, and proved the happiness of the empire.

Establish-  
ments  
of  
Peter  
the Great.

Let us return to the establishments made by Peter the Great, for our age furnishes few objects so worthy of a rational curiosity. It was in 1718, at his return from France, where he had acquired some new ideas, that he principally laboured to complete the reformation. A court of police, which was established at Petersburg, extended its cares over the provinces. The towns were cleared of those idle mendicants, who are a troublesome and pernicious nuisance; care was taken to provide for the education of youth and the support of orphans; whatever was necessary to preserve cleanliness, to maintain good order, and contribute to the public good, was collected in Petersburg and Moscow; trades and manufactures became flourishing; an uniformity of weights and measures facilitated commerce; a canal of communication between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic, by the river Wolga, was dug with equal skill and success. Some treaties of commerce were entered into even with China. Two hundred foreign vessels were already reckoned to come yearly to trade at Petersburg, which, though an inaccessible morass in 1702, at present contains four hundred thousand inhabitants.

Laws,  
justice,  
the senate.

A prince so attentive to the true interests of government could not fail to employ his cares in legislation; and he published a code, taken in part from the laws of Sweden. He abolished a court of the Boyards, which judged without appeal, though its members had not the knowledge necessary for such an office. He

constituted a senate, and established regulations, that justice might be administered speedily, and at little expense. He forbade all the judges, under pain of death, to depart from the law, and substitute their own opinions in its stead. He commanded any Boyard, declared ignominious by the judges, to lose his rank of nobility; and that every private soldier should acquire the rank of a gentleman, if made an officer. Undoubtedly his laws could not be perfect; but they ought to be regarded as the source of better which will follow.

In a savage country, filled with superstition, a reformation of the church was equally difficult and important. The prejudices of the clergy and monks, their cabals, their influence over the minds of the people, presented the greatest obstructions to the changes which the czar thought necessary. He had suppressed the patriarchal dignity, that he might deprive that body of a too powerful chief, who made themselves dangerous to the state, from the wrong notions entertained of religion. An archbishop of Novogorod, who had been improved by travelling, was very useful in seconding the designs of the czar. A perpetual synod, consisting of twelve members, nominated by the emperor, was instituted; a kind of tribunal, to which the jurisdiction of the patriarch was allotted. Peter frequently presided there, and always guided their decisions.

As the monastic life, in the Greek church, is a necessary step to the episcopate, the prohibition to become monk, before the age of fifty, was limited, and leave was given to enter the

*Ecclesiastical  
reformation.*

*Regulations  
for  
monks  
and nuns.*

monastery at thirty; but soldiers, labourers, and all who were in the service of the public, were prohibited from embracing that state without express permission. Bodily labour was commanded to the monks; and they were likewise charged with the care of invalid soldiers and the really poor, who were distributed in convents. The nuns were likewise commanded to employ themselves in useful works. Till the age of fifty, when they received the tonsure, they might, and were even exhorted to marry.

Motives  
for the  
monastic  
reformation.

The motives alleged by the czar, in his decrees for the reformation of the monks, are remarkable. He goes back to the institution of their order, and takes notice of the abuses which had crept in from the relaxation of discipline. 'The monks,' adds he 'are become the scandal and contempt of other religions, and the disgrace of ours. They are even dangerous to the state, since the greatest part of them are useless idlers, drawn into the cloisters by their aversion from industry, and, as it is but too well known, create superstitions, schisms, and even disturbances. . . . While in their villages, they had the threefold duty to contribute to the support of their family, to serve the state, and the Lord. They no sooner become monks, than they forget what it is to want; their provision is always ready, and if, by chance, they labour in the monastic state, it is only for themselves: but, say they, we pray; and does not all the world pray? Saint Basil has destroyed this weak pretence. What advantage, then, does society derive from monasteries? They

cannot reply but by an old proverb, *None ; neither for God nor men.* \*

How greatly must such sentiments displease vicious monks? Their libels against the czar had already determined him, in 1703, to prohibit them the use of pen, ink, and paper. The archmandrite, or abbot, was responsible for those to whom he allowed the use of them. This regulation continued in force.

The monks prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper.

Peter was far from dispelling the ignorance, and purifying the gross manners of the Russian clergy ; but he boasted of having forced them to live in peace and obedience, while Louis XIV., said he, allowed himself to be governed by the clergy of France. He stopped the persecution aimed against the sect of Razholniki ; the only sect known in Russia, whose heresy consisted in saying *hallelujah* only twice, and making the sign of the cross only with three fingers. The sectaries lived peaceably among themselves, without having any commerce with the others ; but, being persecuted, they carried their fanaticism to such a length, as to set fire to the house in which they were assembled, esteeming it their happiness to perish in the flames, for the love of Jesus Christ. We are assured, that not one of these fanatics would change his opinion, and that a hundred thousand families fled for refuge among the Tartars, to escape the tyranny of their persecutors. The severities were renewed after the death of Peter.

A sect in Russia persecuted.

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\* This piece may be seen at full length in the ' Voyage de Sibirie,' by the Abbé Chappe D'Auversche.

Despotism  
contrary  
to the  
happiness  
of  
Russia.

The history of Russia, by M. de Voltaire, would make us conclude, at first sight, that this nation is infinitely more happy, at present, than it was before the reign of the czar. But does the fact correspond with these appearances? Petersburg and Moscow undoubtedly present a very extraordinary contrast with the ancient manners. There the fruits of commerce, arts, and learning, may be seen ; there the women, enjoying a greater share of consideration than is paid them in the rest of the empire, inspire the men with more gentle and refined manners, and give to society the charms of politeness. However, if we may depend upon the abbé Chappe, of the Academy of Sciences, author of the *Voyage de Sibirie*, in 1761, every thing is crushed under the iron sceptre of despotism. In the hand of the czar, it was a necessary instrument for the execution of his designs ; but it was likewise an invincible obstacle to the progress of the reformation, because slavery always degrades a people below the dignity of human nature.

The  
nobility  
crouching  
slaves.

On the one hand, the nobility crouch and groan under an oppressive yoke. They may be stript by the caprice of the sovereign, who can subject them to the most ignominious punishments, and the banishment to Siberia. A punishment so common among them, would be to us worse than death. From thence such a spirit of fear and distrust arises, that if you ask the Russians, says the abbé Chappe, any questions, even the most indifferent to government, they answer, *God and the empress know.* \*

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\* • *Voyage de Sibirie*, tom. i. p. 237.

On the other hand, the people, who are slaves to the nobility, being as much their property as their cattle, and, in fact, treated like the vilest animals, languish in abject indolence and dreadful misery. Almost without faith, and without manners, they drag the chains of superstition. Provided they respect the images, and rigorously observe Lent, they yield to every vice without any sense of remorse. If they preserve their long beards and mantles, notwithstanding the commands of the despot, it is evident that, in other respects, they are not much changed.

The people  
slaves.

The stifling baths which they take twice a week to promote perspiration, followed by severe flagellations, after which they roll in the snow, are indispensable remedies for the humours occasioned by sedentary lives in smoky cottages. But the venereal disease, for which they seek no cure, debaucheries of every kind, and particularly that of strong liquors, destroy those iron constitutions, and increase the depopulation of that vast empire.

Their baths.

It is observed, in general, that the Russians give no proofs of genius ; none of them have become famous in science ; they are only imitators in the arts ; they owe almost every thing to foreigners. However, if the government gave free scope to men's minds, if knowledge did not expose to danger those people who were anxious to cultivate it ; if education was better and more easily obtained ; or if a sentiment of liberty excited a noble ambition ; then, perhaps, some wonderful changes would be seen. The reigning empress, Catharine II., labours to

Genius  
very  
limited  
in that  
empire.

bring to perfection the work of Peter, which he had but roughly sketched in several essential points. That great man is not less entitled to glory, not only for having attempted what an inferior genius would have supposed impossible, but for having frequently succeeded, and paved the way for the success of other princes, who may show themselves worthy of taking his place.

Forces  
of Russia.

Finances.

Fleet.

Russia had such weight, at present, in the affairs of Europe, and acts such a distinguished part, that it is of importance to have some idea of her strength and resources. According to the abbé Chappe, whose inquiries on that subject generally confirm the testimony of M. de Voltaire, the revenues of the state are thirteen millions four hundred thousand roubles, about 3,015,000*l.* English. In 1756 the fleet was reduced to twenty-two ships of the line, six frigates, and ninety-nine galleys. The military establishment amounts to three hundred and thirty thousand men, and costs no more than about six millions four hundred thousand roubles in time of peace.\* The reason is, that the provinces to which they are sent, furnish every necessary for their subsistence; and that the pay in money is very small. A great part of these troops, which are called the army of *the government*, being destined to guard the frontiers, the army of the country is only about sixty thousand effective men, who are perfectly disciplined. But the Russians have an excessive aversion from a military life. They

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\* A rouble is four shillings and sixpence English.



are represented by the abbé Chappe, as deficient in courage, and little to be dreaded, except when defending themselves where there is no opening for flight; and then, it is said, they must be killed to gain the field of battle from them. The population, which M. de Voltaire estimates at twenty-four millions, that Population. traveller reduces to less than nineteen, and alleges, that, so far from increasing, it diminishes every day. Their commerce, by land, Commerce. is of little importance, but by sea it is advantageous; because their exports greatly exceed their imports. The Russians should carry it on themselves, and without restraint.

The abbé Chappe concludes, that the power of Russia should be calculated, not from the extent of its dominions, but in the inverse ratio of that same extent; that she cannot send an army out of the empire, without even victories proving fatal to her; she ought to transport the inhabitants of the north of Siberia into the deserts of the southern part; from which, the sole inconvenience to be apprehended is, that the Tartars will learn the art of war from them. I own, that some of these ideas appear to me quite at variance with the success of the war against the Turks. What efforts continually supported! What victories! What resources! Let us not be too hasty in our judgment; the consequences of a glorious war are sometimes deplorable.

It is something very extraordinary, that three Estimate of the power of Russia. women should have succeeded to the throne of Peter the Great, and that it has acquired additional lustre, notwithstanding the revolutions in Revolutions in that court. Peter II.

the palace. Catharine the First died in 1727. Peter II., the son of the unfortunate Alexis, reigned till 1730. Anne, duchess dowager of Courland, daughter of the eldest brother of Peter I., succeeded to him by a court intrigue; and her favourite Byron governed like a tyrant. After the death of Anne, in 1740, Iwan, or John III., son of her niece, the princess of Branswick, was acknowledged. The mother of the young emperor seized the regency; but Lestoc, a foreign surgeon, formed a conspiracy in favour of Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, and succeeded. Iwan and the regent were imprisoned for life in 1741. It is well known that Elizabeth signalized her clemency, by promising that no capital punishment should be inflicted during her reign, and substituting public labours, which might usefully supply the place of that punishment; which has rarely been productive of good effects. Great licentiousness prevailed in the empire; but that reign has been signalized by conquests gained over the king of Prussia, during the war of 1756.

**Peter III.** Elizabeth died in 1762; and young Peter, duke of Holstein, her nephew, who had been declared grand duke of Russia, quietly succeeded. Though he at first gained the hearts of the nobility, by an excellent ordinance which gave them their liberty, his conduct very soon rendered him contemptible and odious. The clergy, whose revenues he wanted to add to the crown, chiefly hated him as an enemy of the church; and a sudden revolution placed upon the throne his wife the princess of Anhalt-

Zerbst, from whom he had been some time separated. This is Catharine II., whose knowledge and abilities carry the glory of Russia to the greatest height. If the code which she has announced is well executed, she may be classed with the first legislators.

Catharine  
III.

Till the present time, the revolutions of that court have resembled those of the seraglio of Constantinople ; and the reason is plain. The more the sovereign is despotic, the more must intrigue and violence prevail in the palace. Almost all those who have acted conspicuous parts in Russia, such as Mentzikow, Byron, Munich, Osterman, Lestoc and others, have, in their turns, been precipitated from the summit of fortune into the greatest misery.

Idea of that  
court  
till the reign  
of  
Catharine  
II.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.







